

# Rebels Denouncing Ulanhu

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Ulanhu's Crimes in Documents Produced by Rebel Organizations in July –  
September 1967 during the Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia  
Autonomous Region

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract  <p>Pro gradu -tutkielmani tarkastelee Sisä-Mongolian autonomisen alueen pitkäaikaisen johtajan, Ulanhu:n, tuomitsemista kapinallisryhmittymien tuottamissa dokumenteissa kesällä 1967 kulttuurivallankumouksen (1966 – 1969 tai 1966 - 1976) toisena vuonna. Sisä-Mongolian kulttuurivallankumousta on pidetty yhtenä väkivaltaisimmista koko Kiinan kansantasavaltaa terrorisoineen kulttuurivallankumouksen historiassa.</p> <p>Ulanhu oli siirretty johtajan asemistaan jo vuotta aikaisemmin, mutta hänen avoin julkinen tuomitsemisensa mediassa alkoi vasta Elokuun lopulla vuonna 1967. Primääriaineistonani on Japanilaisen Sisä-Mongolialaislähtöisen tutkijan Yang Haiyin:in kokoama aineistopaketti, josta käytän kymmentä kapinallisryhmittömien tuottamaa dokumenttia, joissa Ulanhu:ta kritisoidaan hänen omien puheidensa perusteella, lainauksin noin kahdenkymmenen vuoden ajalta ennen kulttuurivallankumousta. Alkuperäisaineistojen sisällön kuvailun ja tulkinnan lisäksi pyrin vertailemaan millä tavalla kapinallisten tuottamat tekstit eroavat Ulanhun alun perin tuominneen Qianmen Hotellin kokouksen loppuraportista heinäkuulta 1966. Tällä tavoin pyrkimykseni on tarkastella, mitä kapinallisryhmittymien dokumentit kertovat kulttuurivallankumouksen etenemisestä, ja millä tavoin ne ovat mahdollisesti vaikuttaneet tuleviin tapahtumiin, kuten mongoliväestöön kohdistuneeseen ns. kaiva ja eliminoi –kampanjaan, jossa etsittiin väitetyksi maanalaisesti toimineen separatistisen Sisä-Mongolian kansan vallankumouspuolueen jäseniä.</p> <p>Tutkielman rakenteen voi jakaa kahteen pää osaan. Ensimmäisessä esittelen tapahtumien taustoja keskittyen Sisä-Mongolialaisiin autonomialiikkeisiin 1900-luvun ensimmäisellä puoliskolla ja Ulanhu:n rooliin näiden liikkeiden yhdistäjänä ja liittäjänä Kiinan kommunistisen puolueen alaisiksi. Toinen osa tutkielmasta keskittyy Sisä-Mongolian kulttuurivallankumouksen tarkasteluun sekä mainittuja primäärilähteitä että näitä tukevaa tutkimuskirjallisuutta käyttäen. Toisen osan alussa esittelen Sisä-Mongolian kulttuurivallankumouksen päävaiheista ennen siirtymistä kapinallisten tuottamien aineistojen tarkasteluun ja näiden vertailuun Qianmen Hotellin raportin kanssa.</p> <p>Lopputulemana tutkimukseni näyttää, että kapinallisten dokumentit noudattelevat suurilta linjoiltaan jo vuotta aikaisemmin tuotetussa raportissa luotua pohjaa. Luokkakamppailun kiistämiseen ja Mao Zedong:in ajattelun vastustamiseen perustuneet alkuperäiset syytökset ovat vahvasti läsnä myös kapinallisten materiaaleissa. Kapinalliset kuitenkin loivat myös omaa sisältöä, mikä perustuu Ulanhu:n vanhojen puheiden tutkimiseen ja uudelleentulkintaan. Dokumenteissa myös näkyy tietyt kulttuurivallankumouksen yleiset kehityslinjat, kuten Liu Shaoqi:n tuomitseminen, joka pääsi vauhtiin vasta Qianmen Hotellin kokouksen jälkeen. Suoraa yhteyttä Sisä-Mongolian kansan vallankumouspuolueen vainoihin ei ole havaittavissa, mutta kapinallisten dokumentit sisältävät vihjeitä syytösten kehitymisestä mongoleja tuomitsevaan suuntaan.</p>			
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# 1. Introduction

If the Cultural Revolution (CR) is considered "a watershed" in the history of the People's Republic of China, a tumultuous decade that ended the Mao Zedong era and a disaster big enough to lead to major reforms and development, its regional manifestation in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (IMAR) can be considered to have been of similar importance but with strong local characteristics and meanings.

In Inner Mongolia the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966 was the end of the leadership era of a local strongman, Ulanhu (乌兰夫 23 December 1906 – 8 December 1988), who had been the highest regional leader and Communist Party of China (CPC) representative in the IMAR since its establishment in 1947. Soon after the purges in the Party Center had begun, he was purged as a "national splittist" (*minzu fenlie zhuyizhe*) destroying the unity of the nation and opposing the party, socialism, and Mao Zedong thought. After Ulanhu was removed from Inner Mongolia and stripped off his titles, the CR developed towards the most violent part of the era in Inner Mongolia and the whole of China, the purge of a hidden enemy, the Inner Mongolian People's Party (*Neimenggu renmin gemingdang*, IMPRP and *Neirendang*)<sup>1</sup>, an exclusively Mongolian party that had agreed to the establishment of a Mongol autonomous region under the leadership of the CPC, but whose continued underground operations with splittist intentions were now "discovered". During its most disastrous phase between late 1967 and early 1969 at least more than 16,000, most of whom Mongols, were killed and more than 300,000 persecuted in a campaign "to dig out and purge" the alleged splittist party that was threatening the unity of China. To stabilize the strategically important frontier region, Beijing decided to split large parts of the IMAR in late 1969 and place them under the control of the surrounding military regions. What was left of the IMAR was ruled directly by the 65. PLA corps from Beijing.

Ulanhu survived the CR and was able to return to politics on the national level. The IMAR was also eventually returned to its pre-CR size in 1979. But the Cultural Revolution period continued to create tensions in the region and between the Mongol and Han population – not least due to the central government's reluctance to punish the main leaders of the area during the most violent period of the CR. Ulanhu himself never returned to Inner Mongolian politics, but held important positions in Beijing, being especially influential in minority affairs. After his death in 1988, he has been regarded both an Inner Mongolian hero and the founder of the IMAR and a patriotic communist leader who brought Inner Mongolia under the CPC and contributed greatly

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<sup>1</sup> In this thesis the abbreviation 'IMPRP' refers to the pre-PRC party that seized operations by the establishment of the IMAR, and 'Neirendang', short for the Chinese name of the IMPRP, *Neimenggu renmin gemingdang*, refers to the alleged underground existence of the IMPRP "exposed" and purged during the CR.

to the unity of the Chinese nation, a manifestation to his ambiguous role between Mongol and national (or CPC) interests.

The main part of this thesis discusses how Ulanhu was denounced in materials procured by *rebel organizations (zaofan zuzhi)* between June and September 1967, before the name Neirendang was first brought up as an underground splittist threat in October 1967. The aim is to describe what kind of crimes and errors of Ulanhu the rebels exposed in the documents, and in what way the documents differ from the first document that listed the crimes of Ulanhu, the Qianmen Hotel Report of July 1966. Through this descriptive discussion with a comparative aspect, one is hopefully able to observe what kind of content the rebels' document contribute to the attack against Ulanhu, and if the documents include any clues about how the Inner Mongolian CR developed into a purge of the hidden enemy Neirendang, targeting mostly Mongol cadres and population.

As the documents studied in this thesis "expose" Ulanhu's crimes during a period of approximately twenty years before the CR, it is necessary to discuss some of the developments in Inner Mongolian history that provided "evidence" for the attack against Ulanhu. Therefore, after short introductions to Ulanhu (chapter 2) and the source materials of this thesis (chapter 3), the fourth chapter will discuss some aspects of Inner Mongolian history and the underlying conflicts that played significant roles in the Inner Mongolian CR. The main part (chapters 5-7) will then concentrate on the discussion of the attack against Ulanhu in the rebels' documents.

## 1.1 Notes on the Text

The source material of this thesis consist mainly of English and Chinese (both simplified and traditional characters) sources, and within the English sources, many of the Mongolian personal and place names appear in various forms<sup>22</sup>. For the sake of clarity, for most of the proper nouns the Chinese pinyin form is used for clarity, also for Mongolian names. An exeption is the syllable *er* that frequents pinyin forms in Mongolian names, which is replaced with an *r* (e.g. Chaha'er -> Chahar; Temu'erbagen -> Temurbagen). Also the apostrophe differentiating syllables is left out in names like Hafenga (pinyin Hafeng'a), but in these cases the complete pinyin form is presented in parentheses by first appearance. The various other written forms that appear on the sources are also presented the first time the names appear in this thesis. In the cases when another form is used (e.g. Ulanhu instead of Wulanfu), also the Chinese pinyin form will be shown in front of the other forms presented by the first appearance.

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<sup>22</sup> E.g. The Inner Mongolian league Xilinguole (Chinese Pinyin) appear also as Siliin Gol (Atwood 2007), Shilingol (Sneath 1994), Silingol (Bulag 2012).

The Chinese source material include volumes in both simplified and traditional characters. In this thesis the Chinese characters are all given in their simplified form, with the exception of the bibliography, where the original form of the Chinese source materials is presented (after pinyin form) in forms they were published. An exception in the bibliography are the Chinese quotation marks (『 』 and 「 」) used in publications in traditional Chinese characters. They are replaced with quotation marks (" ").

The text includes a lot of short citations from the source material, both from secondary sources and the primary sources consisting of the rebels' documents. In the case of short citations from source material in Chinese, a translation is give directly in the text. For proper nouns the Chinese characters are given in parentheses by their first appearance. To avoid confusion and to expose possible flawed translations, the pinyin forms of many translated expressions and concepts are also presented in parentheses (round brackets, but square brackets in citations).

The original documents originate from a time when the simplified characters used as a standard in the People's Republic of China (PRC) today were still developing.<sup>3</sup> The citations starting the subchapters of the chapters discussing the rebels' documents include some traditional characters and obsolete simplifications that are written in the standard simplified form in this thesis. Some comments on the original forms are included in footnotes.

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<sup>3</sup> "The First Scheme of Simplified Characters was officially released in 1956", "a General List of Simplified Characters" (2,236 characters) with some revisions promulgated in 1964, "a Second Scheme of Simplification" formally published in 1977 but withdrawn the next year and repealed in 1986... (Wang & Sun 2015: 539.)

## 2. Ulanhu a Short Biography

Ulanhu<sup>4</sup> (Wulanfu 乌兰夫, also Ulanfu (Brown 2006), Ulanov (Atwood 1992)) was born on 23 December 1906, into a Tumed Mongolian peasant family in a small village in Tumed Left banner (*Tumote youqi*) not far from the nowadays capital of the IMAR, Hohhot. The area had received spontaneous migration starting from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century by Chinese peasants making the area ethnically and economically mixed, and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century forced land reclamation for agriculture by the Qing court to pay for the Boxer indemnities brought masses of peasants from the inland to the region and forced the Mongols to give up pastoralism and take up agriculture. According to Bulag, Ulanhu could not speak Mongolian; an example of his “hybridity”, living “betwixt and between two worlds, Mongol and Chinese”<sup>5</sup>. This hybridity would later manifest itself in his political career, maneuvering between his different roles as a Mongol leader, a minority politician, and a representative of the CPC.<sup>6</sup>

At the age of 13, after receiving basic education in his native Tumed banner, Ulanhu was sent to Tumed primary school in Guisui (归绥 nowadays Hohhot) for four years.<sup>7</sup> Driven by the dream of becoming a mathematics teacher and contributing to the “rejuvenation of the Mongols”, Ulanhu devoted himself to studying. After successfully graduating the Tumed primary school he was accepted to the Mongolian-Tibetan School (*Meng-zang xueyuan*) in Beijing in 1923.<sup>8</sup>

The Mongolian-Tibetan School was also a target of recruitment for the early CPC leaders like Li Dazhao (李大钊, 1888–1927), who became Ulanhu’s revolutionary mentor. Especially the idea of *China proper* (*benbu*) and the three *democratic autonomous states* (*minzhu zizhibang*) of Menggu (Mongolia), Xizang (西藏 Tibet), and Huijiang (回疆)<sup>9</sup> united under a *free federation* (*ziyou lianbang*) was appealing to Ulanhu and many other young Mongols determined to change the destiny of their homeland struggling under *Han-chauvinism* (*da hanzu zhuyi*). During his first

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<sup>4</sup> Ulanhu was known as Yun Ze (云泽) before adopting the name Ulanhu (乌兰夫, pinyin Wulanfu), which according to Bulag (2002) translates as “the red son of Communism”. Atwood (2004) suggests two possible origins for the name: “either the Chinese for Russian Ulianov (Lenin’s original surname) or for Mongolian Ulaanhüü (red son)”. Yun is the Chinese surname shared by many Tumed Mongols. (Atwood 2004: 570; Bulag 2002: 207, 213.)

<sup>5</sup> Bulag 2002: 207.

<sup>6</sup> Bulag 2002: 220; Wang 2007: 1 – 3.

<sup>7</sup> Wang 2007: 4, 6; Atwood 2004: 570.

<sup>8</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 31; Atwood 2004: 570, Wang 2007: 4 – 6.

<sup>9</sup> The aim to establish a federal Republic of China (Zhonghua lianbang gongheguo) was expressed in the *Manifest of the Second National Congress of the Communist Party of China* (July 1966) (Qi Zhi 2010: 33). There is no clear definition of the territory of Huixiang in Qi Zhi (2010). The Wikipedia article for Huixiang (also Huibu) of the Qing dynasty defines it as the Tarim Basin region, the part of Xinjiang south from the Tianshan Mountains and the adjacent regions nowadays parts of Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan. (Wikipedia A.)



year in Beijing, Ulanhu became a member of the Chinese Socialist Youth League and in September 1925 a member of the CPC.<sup>10</sup>

The talented and devoted Ulanhu was sent by the CPC North China Committee (*Huabei quwei*) to the Far East University (*Dongfang daxue*) in Moscow for further studies. Ulanhu studied Russian and Marxism-Leninism in Moscow until 1929. During this time he also made acquaintance with Wang Ruofei (王若飞, 1896–1946), Zhou Enlai (周恩来, 1898–1976), and other CCP figures who played important roles in his later career. In 1929 Comintern (Third International) and its representative Qu Qiubai (瞿秋白, 1899–1935) sent Ulanhu back to western Inner Mongolia to his native region to engage in underground work for the CCP.<sup>11</sup> After returning to Inner Mongolia, Ulanhu worked underground in western Inner Mongolia under the name Chen Yunzhang (陈云章), setting up a CPC cell and communication lines with the Comintern. He gained reputation by instigating rebellion against the GMD and the Japanese. A major success for him was the instigation a rebellion and desertion of mostly Tumed Mongol troops from Prince De's (De Wang 德望, 1902–1962)<sup>12</sup> army in 1936, which was symbolically important for the Chinese Communists as it was the initial attack against the Japanese and the Mongols collaborating with the Japanese.<sup>13</sup>

Following the second coalition of the Communists and Nationalists against the Japanese in 1937, Ulanhu was successful in recruiting CPC members from the Mongolian army under GMD control and led them to battle against the advancing Japanese troops in western Inner Mongolia. To avoid GMD punishment for his Communist activities he was summoned to Yan'an in 1941 where he "became the most trusted 'minority' communist within the ranks" of the CPC<sup>14</sup>. He worked as dean of studies at the College of Nationalities in Yan'an (延安), survived the 1942 rectification movement and, thanks to recommendations from Zhou Enlai and Wang Ruofei, became an alternate member of the Central Committee in the Seventh Congress of the CCP held in April/June, 1945.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Bulag 2002: 220; Qi Zhi 2010: 33 – 34.

<sup>11</sup> Bulag 2002: 2002; Qi Zhi 2010: 38 – 39.

<sup>12</sup> For more information on Prince De, see chapter 2.N in this thesis. De Wang (Prince De) is a respectful abbreviation for Prince Demchungdongrub (1902–1966), who was a conservative prince from Xilinguole (Shiliin Gol) league in central Inner Mongolia. First a Qing loyalist, later favoring educated young Mongol nationalists, De Wang became "the leader of the Inner Mongolian autonomous movement under the Japanese" during the late 1930s and early 1940s. (Atwood 2007: 141.)

<sup>13</sup> Bulag 2002: 220; Qi Zhi 2010: 46 – 47.

<sup>14</sup> Bulag 2002: 220

<sup>15</sup> Bulag 2002: 220 – 221; Qi Zhi 2010: 47; Dangshi.people.net.

In 1945 Ulanhu's importance to the CPC grew as he was first able to make himself the chairman of the Provisional Government of the People's Republic of Inner Mongolia (*Neimenggu renmin linshi chengfu*), set up by Prince De's former officials from the *Mengjiang* government, and bring it under CPC leadership. Then in November he was granted the permission to set up his own organization, Federation of the Autonomous Movement of Inner Mongolia (*Neimenggu zizhi yundong lianhehui*, the Lianhehui) "to function as a semi-governmental organization, and to prepare for the establishment of an Inner Mongolian autonomous government"<sup>16</sup>.

An event decisive in Ulanhu's rise to become the leader of Inner Mongolia, and an example of his "hybridity", was the April 1946 Chengde conference between representatives of western and eastern Inner Mongolia and the resulting merge of the East Mongolian (People's) Autonomous Government (*Dongmeng (renmin) zizhi zhengfu*, EMAG), established in January-February 1946 by the IMPRP leadership, into the Lianhehui. With the Soviet troops stationed in East Mongolia preparing to leave in early 1946, the East Mongolian government needed to find a solution to live with the warring Chinese parties. At the same time the CPC could not leave the region to be taken by the GMD. The GMD was not willing to grant the EMAG *de jure* autonomy, but Ulanhu was able to convince the East Mongolian leaders to agree to "an Inner Mongolian national movement aiming at egalitarian autonomy, not independent autonomy," striving for national liberation under CPC leadership.<sup>17</sup>

Having united the major Inner Mongolian autonomy movements under the leadership of the CPC, the next step was the establishment of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Government (*Neimenggu zizhi zhengfu*), which was declared on May 1, 1947 in Wangyemiao (Wang-un Süme, nowadays Wulanhaote) as a result of the People's Congress of Inner Mongolia (*Neimenggu renmin daibiao dahui*). As the man who delivered the CPC its first victory in resolving nationality issues, uniting the Mongols under the CPC, Ulanhu was rewarded for his services and took his place as the chairman of the new government and gained control over Inner Mongolia.<sup>18</sup>

After the establishment of the PRC Ulanhu achieved a multitude of positions and titles within the party, the government, and the military, both on national and IMAR level. In September 1959 he became an alternate member of the Politburo, "the only officially recognized minority

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<sup>16</sup>Atwood 1992: 59 – 60. To be fair to Atwood's description it should be noted that he credits Ulanhu for mostly being successful in "dissolving improperly nationalist Mongolian organizations" but not for developing the CPC in these areas. He even adds that unlike the West Manchurian Branch the CPC that was able to get Mongols to fight against the GMD in Eastern Mongolia, the Lianhehui in Rehe even alienated local Mongols and pushed them in the direction of the GMD. (Atwood 1992: 62.)

<sup>17</sup> Atwood 1992: 63 – 65; Qi Zhi 2010: 47

<sup>18</sup> Bulag 2002: 221; Qi Zhi 2010: 54 – 55.

member in the highest organ of the CCP”<sup>19</sup>. Ulanhu’s value to the CPC on the national level was to keep Inner Mongolia a part of China.

In the 1950s and early 1960s Ulanhu can be considered successful in balancing between his positions between the Mongols and the Center, and the Inner Mongolian society divided into different camps, some pro-China ;others pro-MPR, “anti-minority Chinese at the lower level; and pro-minority Chinese at the Center”<sup>20</sup>. On the matter of whether Inner Mongolia should be independent, Ulanhu was determined to protect China’s territorial integrity, at the same time creating an “Other”, the IMPRP that stood for pro-MPR; pro-GMD; and pro-Japanese militarism<sup>21</sup>. On the other hand, he tried to protect Mongol rights and Inner Mongolian autonomy for example by denouncing Han chauvinism and quoting Mao Zedong’s view on ethnic equality, promoting the status of pastoralism in national economy and the Mongols’ position in the IMAR administration. By balancing the different camps and his position between the Party and the Mongols, he was able to gain political capital and even create a “kind of personality cult” around him as the ruler of the minority region, something that, according to Bulagm, was even encouraged by Mao as it could unite the (minority) masses under the socialist cause<sup>22</sup>.

His use of personal power to defend Inner Mongolian autonomy, favoring of his native Tumed banner<sup>23</sup>, and “insistence on national polity, rather than on the application of universalist class struggle”, backfired in 1966, as he was denounced in the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in the Qianmen Hotel conference of the North China Bureau (*Huabeiju*, NCB), presided over by the first secretary Li Xuefeng (李雪峰, 1907–2003). In the conference, discussed in more detail later, Ulanhu was accused of “creating an independent kingdom, advocating Inner Mongolian independence, and conspiring with the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People’s Republic”<sup>24</sup>.

Ulanhu was denounced by the Party but not exposed to be physically struggled against by the revolutionary organizations. He survived the CR away from IMAR, first in Beijing and then in

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<sup>19</sup> Bulag 2002: 222 – 223.

<sup>20</sup> Bulag 2002: 224.

<sup>21</sup> Bulag (2002: 223) describes Ulanhu “setting up an Other, the long defunct” IMPRP in the discourse on Inner Mongolian status in the 1950s and early 1960s, but it should perhaps be noted, that the problem of eastern Mongolian leaders’ ideological purity and background serving the Japanese Manchurian government had been brought up by Ulanhu already in the negotiations leading to the merge of the EMAG into the Lianhehui in Chengde in the spring of 1946, thus having used the argument referring to treachery already on an early stage (e.g. Atwood 1992: 65).

<sup>22</sup> Bulag 2002: 224. However, raising Ulanhu on level with Chairman Mao in some parts of Inner Mongolia became one of the severe “errors” of Ulanhu in the denouncement campaign of the CR, which will be discussed later.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. defending Tumed Mongols from being struggled against in the Four Cleanups Movement (launched in 1963), but also in the early 1951s land reform where he promoted policies protective to the Mongols.

<sup>24</sup> Bulag 2002: 226.

Hunan under military protection. His survival may have been due to protection by Mao Zedong (毛泽东, 1893–1976) and/or Zhou Enlai, but they did not make a final judgement on the case of Ulanhu, which left his position ambiguous: He became a target of demonization “by all sides, a symbol conveniently used by different factions, to attack each other for serving Ulanhu at one point or another”<sup>25</sup>. Some of his former subordinates and the NCB leaders waged “an all-out propaganda war against him throughout Inner Mongolia”, in fear of his return and retaliation<sup>26</sup>.

After the official CR was declared ended in the spring of 1969, Mao declared that there had been “excesses” (*kuodahua*) during the Inner Mongolian CR, but approved its general line. Ulanhu’s name was in the list of old cadres to be rehabilitated approved by Mao in 1971, but the Gang of Four (*sirenbang*) insisted on him being guilty of secessionism and revisionism. This time Zhou Enlai defended him by recalling his contribution to resisting splittist forces and to the founding of the IMAR.<sup>27</sup>

Bulag notes, that “Ulanhu was liberated largely because of his ‘Mongolian’ identity and his status as a ‘nationality leader’”. He was important in “destroying Mongolian independence and bringing Inner Mongolia into China”, and his policies benefiting the Mongols after the establishment of the IMAR were declared as mistakes, but apologized for.<sup>28</sup>

Ulanhu was allowed to resume work in 1973, and in June 1977 he was appointed chief of the Central Committee United Front Work Department (UFWD). and in August at the Eleventh Congress he became a full member of the Politburo Standing Committee<sup>29</sup>. As the chief of the UFWD Ulanhu became the leading minority affairs specialist in the Party Center. He played a major role in the restoration of the territorial boundaries of the IMAR in 1979, thus “uniting” Inner Mongolia for the second time in his career. He was a member of the Politburo and vice-chairman of the PRC (June 1983–April 1988) and the National People’s Congress, latter of which he held until his death in December 1988.<sup>30</sup>

After Ulanhu’s death in December 1988, only a small-scale funeral was held in Beijing and no official mourning ceremony took place in Inner Mongolia, shocking many Mongols. Also a request by his son and chairman of the IMAR, Buhe (布赫, 1926–2017)<sup>31</sup>, to build a mausoleum

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<sup>25</sup> Bulag 2002: 228.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid: 227.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid: 228 – 229.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Wang 2007: 539.

<sup>30</sup> Bulag 2002: 229 – 230, 236; Wang 2007: 619.

<sup>31</sup> Since the purge of Ulanhu in the Qianmen Hotel meeting, the highest party leader in IMAR has always been a Han. After the Cultural Revolution the policy has been, that the first secretary of the IMAR PC is a Han, and the

to commemorate him was declined. The official policy changed in 1992, when the CPC Propaganda Department permitted the construction of a mausoleum in Hohhot.<sup>32</sup> Ulanhu never returned, or was not allowed to return, to the Inner Mongolian political stage after the CR.<sup>33</sup> After his posthumous “comeback” he has taken different roles that reflect his different meaning to China and to Mongols.

Bulag argues that his posthumous return to Inner Mongolia as “the ultimate embodiment of the state, as a representative of the state, a Mongol hero, a symbol of Chinese patriotism, a defender of the Chinese nation”<sup>34</sup> following the “low-profile treatment” after his death was both related to Beijing’s efforts to “assure stability and control” in the IMAR and “the result of pressures from certain Mongols to restore his honor” and to strengthen the Mongols’ position in politics and society<sup>35</sup>. This way, Ulanhu has still been alternating between different roles, trying both to protect minority rights and strengthen the national unity of the PRC.

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chairman (主席) of the IMAR People’s Government a Mongol (starting from December 1977). Ulanhu’s son Buhe followed Kong Fei (孔飞) as the chairman of the IMAR government in 1983 (Hao 1991: 555 - 556).

<sup>32</sup> Bulag: 2002: 208 – 210.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid: Yang (2014) elaborates, that while Ulanhu was not allowed to return to Inner Mongolian politics, he did make two trips back after the CR under guard: first on 30 July 1977 for the celebration of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the IMAR as a member of a delegation from the Centre; and 28 July 20 August, when he visited Hohhot and Chinggis Khan mausoleum (Yang 2014: 6162).

<sup>34</sup> Ibid: 212

<sup>35</sup> Bulag 2002: 212.

### 3. Sources

While arguably not being the most well-known event of PRC history, the Inner Mongolian CR and especially the purge of the Neirendang have received attention in academic literature both in China and abroad, many of the contributors having born in Inner Mongolia and/or having experienced the CR in Inner Mongolia themselves<sup>36</sup>. Due to the source languages of this thesis being limited to Chinese, English, and Finnish, scholarship in for example Mongolian, Russian, and Japanese have unfortunately been neglected. The major source materials used in this thesis are introduced below.

#### 3.1 Sources in English

As early as in late 1968, Paul Hyer and William Heaton published an article on the CR in Inner Mongolia stating that compared to the rest of the country “the Cultural Revolution in the Inner Mongolian Region takes on added significance in that ‘local nationalism’ the Mongol national minority played an important role between the established political structure and the efforts of the Maoists to ‘seize power’”.<sup>37</sup> The article’s account of the events in the Inner Mongolian CR is in some respects uninformed compared to later research, e.g. it suggests that Ulanhu was still active in the Inner Mongolian conflict in March 1967 directing “troops to surround the Red Guard headquarters” and planning to stage a coup “in order to establish an Inner Mongolian Revolutionary Committee.”<sup>38</sup> However, Hyer & Heaton are aware of some aspects of Ulanhu’s denouncement also discussed in this thesis. The denouncement of Ulanhu presented as a reaction to local nationalism that had manifested itself in Ulanhu’s and “his Mongol associates” efforts to resist policies favoring Chinese agriculture, the assimilationist effect of these policies, and efforts to “become more closely associated with the Mongols of the Mongolian People’s Republic.”<sup>39</sup> The switch from “a soft line policy of ‘No Struggle’” (the Three Nos policy) towards assimilationist policies towards minorities is associated with the Great Leap Forward movement of 1958 when “local nationalism replaced ‘Han chauvinism’ as the target for condemnation, and increasing “rate of Chinese incursions into the pastoral areas” aggravated the “already strong Mongol nationalism.”<sup>40</sup> However, one is reluctant to agree with the article’s view, that makes

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<sup>36</sup> E.g. Qi Zhi (Wu Di) experienced the CR in Inner Mongolia as a sent-down youth, also spending a part of his time in jail, where he came to know about the persecution experienced by Mongols. Yang (2014) includes a chapter that tells about the experiences of his Mother during the CR. Another important scholar who has written extensively on Inner Mongolia, and whose works are also used as source material in this thesis, Uradyn E. Bulag, describes Yang Haiying (Ono Akira) as his “good old high-school classmate from Ordos” (Bulag 2012: xiv).

<sup>37</sup> Hyer & Heaton 1968: 114.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid: 122. The article is mostly based on Taiwanese (Republic of China) secondary sources and the information from e.g. *Inner Mongolia Daily* was not an accurate source either, like the public denouncement of Ulanhu in *IM Daily* in August 1967, a year after the Qianmen Hotel Meeting, suggests.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid: 126 – 127.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 116 – 117.

Mongol nationalism a major conflict party in the Inner Mongolian CR, as it could be argued, that by 1966-1967 Mongol nationalism was a target and, but not necessarily a player.

The next contributions in English to the research of the Inner Mongolian CR discussed the effects of the period in Inner Mongolia. An article by William Jankowiak published in 1988, while analyzing the background of student unrests in the autumn of 1981 in Hohhot, the IMAR capital, through interviews and observation, does discuss the Mongol experience during the CR and the Neirendang-case, but the article concentrates on the “consequences of the Neirendang campaign on present-day (i.e. late 1980s) Han-Mongol relations in Huhhot [sic] and the IMAR” and does not write the history of the CR in the IMAR.<sup>41</sup> David Sneath’s article *The Impact of the Cultural Revolution on the Mongolians of Inner Mongolia* published in 1994 draws evidence from both eyewitness accounts and previously published source material presenting a description of the course of the CR in Inner Mongolia with emphasis on its effect on the Mongol population, and as such is probably the earliest paper originally written in English that tries to discuss the Inner Mongolian CR in a more comprehensive manner, including both government policies and their effect on the people of Inner Mongolia.<sup>42</sup>

Likely the earliest work specializing in the history of the CR in Inner Mongolia was published in 1993 by the Stockholm University Center for Pacific Asia Studies. *The Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia: Extracts from an Unpublished History* includes excerpts from a 600-plus page handwritten manuscript written by Wu Di (吴迪, who in Chinese writes under the pseudonym Qi Zhi 启之) under the pseudonym W. Woody, translated by Michael Schoenhals and edited into a 35 page volume by both of them.<sup>43</sup> The book was not published in full until 2010 and is introduced in the next subchapter. In addition to the main text, *The Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia*, also includes an Editor’s Introduction by the translator (and scholar of the CR) Schoenhals that gives an outline of the events in the Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia.

To date the only book specifically<sup>44</sup> about The CR in the IMAR originally published in English appears to be Kerry Brown’s *The Purge of the Inner Mongolian People’s Party in the Cultural Revolution, 1967-69*, that studies the use of language to gain power and authority during the first three years of the Cultural Revolution decade by using documents produced in the 1960s gathered from “secondhand bookshops and street vendors” during his stay in Inner Mongolia in

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<sup>41</sup> Jankowiak 1988: 269, 273.

<sup>42</sup> Sneath 1994: 410 – 411.

<sup>43</sup> Information on *The Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia: Extracts from an Unpublished History* obtained from a book review by William Heaton in *The China Quarterly* (Volume 140, 1994, pp 1194-1195) and from Qi Zhi, 2010 (585) and personal communication with Michael Schoenhals (March 21, 2017), who sent me a pdf-copy of the volume.

<sup>44</sup> The Inner Mongolian CR has been discussed as parts of larger phenomena, e.g. in Bulag (2002).

the mid-1990s.<sup>45</sup> In many respects this is the major English source of this thesis. In addition to general information considering the Inner Mongolian CR, the context of the source documents and the various power relations affecting the course of events, one part of Brown (2006) is of particular interest regarding this thesis. The third chapter, called *Nationalism Versus Ethnicity*, studies the campaign against Ulanhu in 1967/1968, in both “official” materials, i.e. “articles and items in the *IM Daily*” (Inner Mongolia Daily), and “unofficial” materials of varied types, “sponsored by specific factions”.<sup>46</sup> The latter band of materials studied in the chapter include at least two of the source documents produced by rebel organizations also used in this thesis (documents 3 and 4, see appendix 9.1).<sup>47</sup> As Brown (2006) approaches the Inner Mongolian CR by analyzing the language in documents from the time, it also provides abundant reference material considering translations and meanings of different terms and concepts that frequent in the source material of this thesis<sup>48</sup>.

### 3.2 Sources in Chinese

The one book perhaps most referred to in the other source texts is the *Kangsheng yu “neirendang” yuannan* by Tumen and Zhu Dongli, published in 1995 in Beijing by the Party School Press. Being one of the few books on the CR in Inner Mongolia, and an early one, this book has been an important source to other research discussed below, but has also received heavy criticism. Qi Zhi<sup>49</sup> (2010) mentions it as an example of “shifting responsibility” for the CR events by making Kang Sheng (康生, 1898–1975)<sup>50</sup> the chief culprit of the purge of the Neirendang and criticizes it for ignoring the historical roots of the nationality question of Inner Mongolia and the lack of analysis of the course of events of the CR.<sup>51</sup> Yang (2014) agrees with the criticism of moving the burden of responsibility from Mao Zedong’s and the Party Centre’s shoulders to Kang Sheng, and the inadequate analysis of the nationality question but interprets these shortcomings as at least partly resulting from constraints of the Party state and not from Tumen

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<sup>45</sup> Brown 2006: 2005: iix-ix.

<sup>46</sup> Brown 2006: 69 – 71.

<sup>47</sup> Many of the primary documents used as source material in Kerry Brown’s research were to be placed on a website of the Australian National University, but were not available at the time of writing of this thesis, leaving the comparison of the materials on the level of checking the Bibliography in Brown (2005) (Brown 2005: vii; personal communication with Anita Chan and Jonathan Unger, January 27 – 29 2017).

<sup>48</sup> The translations in this thesis do sometimes borrow from Brown (2016), but often not. When a suitable translation has been found in secondary source materials, they are used, but often the translations, for better or worse, are my own.

<sup>49</sup> Qi Zhi recalls being recommended by Wang Nianyi to Tumen, who was looking for help in writing the book. Qi Zhi declined the offer as “even the title was unacceptable to me, how could I co-write it?!” (Qi Zhi. 582).

<sup>50</sup> Kang Sheng, Mao’s trustee known for his ruthlessness and for having a “paranormal sixth sense for who was and who wasn’t an ‘anti-party element’”, in charge of the feared Central Case Examination Group set up to investigate Peng Zhen, Luo Rui, Lu Dingyi, and Yang Shangkun, but became an “internal gestapo” of the party leadership. (Macfarquhar & Schoenhals 2008: 33; Paltemaa & Vuori 2012: 172.)

<sup>51</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 121 – 122.



himself.<sup>52</sup> The book itself concentrates on the events of the CR in Inner Mongolia starting from the Qianmen Hotel in the summer of 1966, therefore the criticism of the lack of historical perspective is understandable. Despite its shortcomings, the book is still useful as a reference to certain events and dates, especially due to a list of major events in its final pages.

Likely the most comprehensive history of the CR in Inner Mongolia is *Neimen wenge shilu: "minzu fenlie" yu "wa su" yundong* (2010) by Qi Zhi. The draft of the book was originally finished in 1991 but not published in full until 2010. A 35 page translation by Michael Shchoenhals based on handwritten draft of the book was published in 1993 (see "Sources in English"), but the final book version published in Hong Kong did not come out until 2010<sup>53</sup>. Qi Zhi writes that the part of *Historical Dictionary of the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (edited by Guo Jian, Song Yongyi and Yuan Zhou, first published in 2006 by The Scarecrow Press) discussing Inner Mongolia also originates from this book<sup>54</sup>. Qi Zhi's work utilizes a wide array of source material including both "official sources" (publications, archives etc.) and private accounts including interviews and written accounts of the interviewees.<sup>55</sup> As the title that translates as "Veritable records of the Inner Mongolian Cultural Revolution" suggests, the main focus of the book is on the events of the IMAR CR, meticulously describing the changes in leadership and the effects of central policies on the Inner Mongolian level. However, as Qi Zhi's criticism towards Tumen and Zhu's work suggests, the *Neimen wenge shilu* adopts a more comprehensive historical approach to the CR events, starting from the Republican period and the Inner Mongolian struggle towards autonomy, trying to explain both the tensions between the IMAR and the Center, between different leaders and the ethnic tensions between the Mongols and the Chinese, all affected the CR events. As an addition, the *Neimen wenge shilu* also includes some official documents important to the discussed events as attachments, like the report on Ulanhu's mistakes by the North China Bureau (the Qianmen Hotel Report), of which a rough translation is provided in appendix of this thesis.

Another quite recent addition to literature on the CR in Inner Mongolia is *Meiyou mubeide caoyuan – mengguren yu wenge datusha* by Yang Haiying<sup>56</sup>. It was first published in Japanese

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<sup>52</sup> Yang 2014: 436 – 437.

<sup>53</sup> The afterword of the book includes an account of the twists and turns of the publication process (Qi Zhi 2010: 581 – 586).

<sup>54</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 585. Qi Zhi possibly refers to Guo et al. (2009) or a different edition of it.

<sup>55</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 585.

<sup>56</sup> Yang Haiying (杨海英, Mongolian name Oonos Choghtu, Japanese 大野 旭 (Ohno Akira)), Professor in Cultural Anthropology, Shizuoka University, Japan. Yang was born in Ordos, Inner Mongolia. The first volume of two book that appears to be a translation of Yang's book was published through the self-publishing company Xlibris in October, 2017, under the name Genocide on the Mongolian Steppe

(*Bohyo naki sosen – uchimongoru ni okeru bunkadaikakumei, gyakusatsu no kiroku*) in 2009 and the Chinese translation referred to in this thesis in Taiwan in 2014. *Meiyou mubeide caoyuan* tells the story of Inner Mongolia and the Inner Mongolian CR through the experiences of several Mongols, including some of Yang's own family members, based on interviews, archival documents and previous research literature. Despite its focus being on the CR, the timeline of the book extends far back to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, thus linking the Mongols' grievances during the CR to the history of the autonomous region. As the title suggests ("The Steppes without tombstones: Mongols and the CR genocide"), Yang Haiying, originally from the Ordos region, represents the Inner Mongolian CR as "shared memory of ethnic genocide".<sup>57</sup> The interviewees are "AR cadres, PLA cadres, ordinary nomad herdsmen etc." who experienced the CR in Inner Mongolia.<sup>58</sup> Unlike for example the abovementioned works, it's not "CR history" by nature, but historical anthropology and modern history of the Mongols, therefore its point of view is very different from the studies that concentrate on major changes in politics and their effect on the AR level.<sup>59</sup> Despite the narrative being formed around personal experiences of individuals, *Meiyou mubeide caoyuan* includes a lot of information on events, persons, and the background of different conflicts affecting the Inner Mongolian CR.

A personal account from a different viewpoint is *Neimeng wenge fenglei – yi wei zaofanpai lingxiu de koushushi* (Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia – Oral History of a Rebel Leader) by Gao Shuhua and Cheng Tiejun published in Hong Kong in 2007. *Neimeng wenge fenglei* is an autobiographical account of the Cultural Revolution by a rebel leader Gao Shuhua (高树华, 1941–2003), who was the primary author of one of the first and most famous *big-character posters* (*dazibao*)<sup>60</sup> of the Inner Mongolian Cultural Revolution, one of the most important rebel leaders during the CR and imprisoned after it. Having been one of the major rebel leaders in the early CR in Hohhot, after the replacement of the old IMAR leadership when the Centre sided with the rebels in the Spring of 1967, Gao became a member of the new leadership organ, the Inner Mongolia Revolutionary Committee (*Neimenggu geming weiyuanhui*, (IM)RC, first established as the Preparatory Small Group (*choubei xiaozu*) on 18 June 1967 and then the actual RC on 1

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(<https://www.xlibris.com/Bookstore/BookDetail.aspx?BookId=SKU-001068218>). The "primary" source material of this thesis was also compiled by Yang Haiying.

<sup>57</sup> Yang 2014: 43.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid: 453

<sup>59</sup> Ibid: 453 – 454.

<sup>60</sup> Big-character posters (*Dazibao*) "were the major form of mass communication during the Cultural Revolution", written with pen-brushed on large sheets of paper with black ink and pasted on walls. The *dazibao* were a way for the masses to express their thoughts and feelings by circulating the tightly controlled major media channels (newspapers, radio). (Guo et al. 2009: 54.)

Novemeber).<sup>61</sup> Therefore, his experiences may shed light on the situation of the rebels in Hohhot in Summer 1967, when the primary source materials of this thesis were produced.

### 3.3 “Primary” Source Material

The latter part of this thesis discussed the denouncement of Ulanhu in documents produced by rebels organizations (*zaofan zuzhi*) in Hohhot between 7 June and 5 September (except for one, document 2, without a date). The documents are from *The Collection of Poisonous Weeds: Selection of Ulanhu’s Antirevolutionary Remarks (Dokusou to sareta minzokujiketsu no riron)* (2012), which is the fourth volume in a series edited by Yang Haiying collecting original documents from the Inner Mongolian CR called *Monoglian Genocide During the Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia (Mongorujin jenosaido ni kansuru kiso shiryō)*. This fourth volume is divided two parts, and the latter part into two bands of documents. The first part (pp. 1 – 134) is the *Editor’s Commentary on the Materials (Shiryō kaisetsu)*, which is not used as a source in this thesis. *The second part is the Band of Materials Composing the ‘Poisonous Weeds’ (Dokusou wo kousei suru shiryōgun)*. The first band of materials is called *Poisonous Weeds (Dokusou)* (pp. 135 – 590). Poisonous weeds (*ducao*) were “any writing deemed antiparty, antisocialist, and nonproletarian”, used in mass campaigns to criticized their targets.<sup>62</sup> The seven documents in Yang (2012) consist of collections of Ulanhu’s “poisonous weeds”: speeches, reports and other materials that could be used as a basis for Ulanhu’s denouncement. These compilations are dated between MayNovember 1967, produced by rebel organizations, and include Ulanhu’s “black” views starting from 1945 until the Cultural Revolution. In this thesis, these documents are used as reference to some of Ulanhu’s quotations used in the main source, the second band of materials.

The second band of materials (pp. 551 – 934), the main primary source materials of this thesis, Yang has titled as *Transplanting the ‘poisonous weeds’ (‘Dokusou’ no ishoku)*. These materials include ten documents from JuneSeptember 1967, and one (the last one) from August 1971. As this thesis studies the documents as a part of the “unofficial attack” (as described by Brown 2006) against Ulanhu in summer 1967, the last document from 1971 is left outside discussion. One of the documents (document 2) has no date on it, but as Yang has placed it within the materials from 1967; and it was produced by the Hohhot Revolutionary Rebels Liaison Headquarters Criticize and Struggle Ulanhu Liaison Station<sup>63</sup> Inner Mongolia University “Jinggangshan”, which indicates that the documents are from the time when Ulanhu was the

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<sup>61</sup> Gao 2007: 267

<sup>62</sup> Guo et al. 2009: 225. Poisonous weeds were not a speciality of the Cultural Revolution, but were also used to attack “anti-Party and anti-socialist” elements e.g. during the anti-Rightist campaign of 1957–1958 (e.g. He :16.)

<sup>63</sup> The same Hohhot Revolutionary Rebels Liaison Headquarters is recorded as the head-organization behind many of the documents on both bands of materials, see Yang (2012: 133).

main target of the rebels; and the fact that the rebels organizations were dissolved as a result of the “Cleaning of Class Ranks” campaign (*qingdu*) starting from March 1968<sup>64</sup>, it is reasonable to consider the document 2 a part of the primary source material.

The documents of the second band of materials include compilations of quotes from Ulanhu, some only a few words, some of them longer passages. The quotes are organized under different themes that show what kind of “crimes” of Ulanhu the quotes are evidence of. The quotes are accompanied by the editors’ notes (*an*), either before the compilations of quotes as an introduction, or as notes to one or more individual quotes. The documents also include quotes from authorities (most often Mao Zedong, but also e.g. Lenin, Stalin) that provide foundation for the denouncement of Ulanhu, who’s views allegedly are in conflict with these authorities. The main source documents will be commented more in detail later. A list of the main primary source documents is provided in appendix.

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<sup>64</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 266 – 268.

## 4. Background

Despite being a part of the countrywide movement that spread to the IMAR from Beijing almost immediately after its official launch, the CR in the IMAR had a distinctive local character defined by the issues of *minzu tuanjie* and *nationality policy (minzu zhengce)*<sup>65</sup>. In Qi Zhi's (2010) view, the distinguishing feature of the CR in Inner Mongolia was the target of the *revolution (geming)* to tackle the issue of *national splittism (minzu fenlie zhuyi)*<sup>66</sup>, which became the fundamental content of the CR in the form of the purge of *Ulanhu's treasonous anti-Party clique (fandang panguo jituan)* and the so called *New Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (xin neimenggu renmin gemingdang, Neirendang)*.<sup>67</sup>

The existing threat of splittism is based on the idea of *minzu tuanjie*<sup>68</sup> which became an essential part of the efforts of folding "the fluid ethnic diversity of the empire into the homogeneity of a new national imaginary" since the early twentieth century and the collapse of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911).<sup>69</sup> The *nationality question (minzu wenti)*, Leibold (2007) uses the term *national question*, i.e. "the problem of classifying and assimilating" the minorities or marginalized citizens of the frontier areas into the geo-body of the nation, became an urgent matter to be solved in order to relieve the tension between the ethnocentric and political cultural community (that Leibold calls *Sinic*) that would form the center of the new Chinese nation-state, and the protection of the expansive territory inherited from the Qing dynasty<sup>70</sup>. Ulanhu was an important part of this solution for the CPC, as he desired the liberation of the Mongols from warlord and Japanese oppression, and at the same time believed that the CPC was the correct leader for this mission. In the case of the Inner Mongolian CR and Ulanhu, one way of

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<sup>65</sup> In this thesis, the Chinese word *minzu* (民族) is translated as *nationality/nationalities*, e.g. *shaoshu minzu* is translated as *minority nationalities*. As exceptions, some compound expressions that have many meanings or do not translate easily are mostly referred to in their Pinyin form, these include: *minzu tuanjie* (national unity or amity between nationalities) and *Zhonghua minzu* ("the Chinese nation" that include all the nationalities in China, also the 55 official minority nationalities). An exception to this exception are the translated citations where all the expressions are translated in the way (hopefully) most suitable to the context.

<sup>66</sup> *Splittism (fenlie zhuyi* or sometimes only *fenlie*): Dictionaries define the word 'splittism' e.g. as "the pursuance of factional interests in opposition to official Communist Party policy" ([en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/splittism](http://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/splittism)) or "the advocating of separation from a larger body" (<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/splittism>). In this thesis the word 'splittism' is predominantly used despite the possibility of using the Pinyin form *fenlie*, as the English word bends more naturally to expressions like "national splittist conspiracy" (*minzu fenlie yinmou*), and because one could argue that the word also captures the implied meaning of "fenlie", i.e. that some-one (Ulanhu) is not advocating the separation of an ethnic/political/cultural entity from China (separatism or secessionism), but trying to "split" or destroy a whole (the PRC or possibly the *Zhonghua minzu*) that cannot be divided into smaller entities.

<sup>67</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 25.

<sup>68</sup> Bulag adds that the expression *minzu tuanjie* can mean both "national unity" and "amity between nationalities (*minzu*)" (Bulag 2002: 12).

<sup>69</sup> Leibold 2007: 2 – 3.

<sup>70</sup> Leibold 2007: 19

approaching the denouncement of Ulanhu is him losing on "the battleground" that is the "keyword minzu tuanjie".<sup>71</sup> The self-rule or autonomy (*zizhi*), was initially a positive concept as Mongols were struggling to free themselves from imperialist or Han chauvinist exploitation, and then as a building block of a unity of the Chinese nation and nationalities under the CPC. But as the Sino-Soviet rift escalated in the early 1960s, and absolute loyalty was required from the Mongols of the frontier, "Ulanhu's insistence on local autonomy . . . became the very basis for charges of his alleged crime of splitting China, and he himself was purged"<sup>72</sup>.

The establishment of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Government in 1947 was a result of both Inner Mongolian movements for independence or autonomy since the fall of the Qing dynasty, and the successful incorporation of the most successful of the Inner Mongolian movements, the *Easter Mongolia Autonomous Government* (EMAG) founded by the *Inner Mongolia People's Revolutionary Party* (IMPRP), into the CPC, a process in which Ulanhu played a major role and collected enormous political credit. The IMPRP past and Ulanhu's strong position would then come back to haunt Inner Mongolia and especially the Mongols during the Cultural Revolution.

Looking back to the pre-CR history of Inner Mongolia and its connection to the alleged national splittism in the IMAR, Qi Zhi has described the periods of modern IM history (*xiandaishi*, meaning before the establishment of the IMAR) and contemporary IM history (*dangdaishi*, since the establishment of the IMAR) as follows<sup>73</sup>:

如果说，内蒙古的现代史为“民族分裂”提供了政治组织方面的丰富联想的话，那么，内蒙古的当代史则为“民族分裂”提供了思想路线方面的大量证据。<sup>74</sup>

*If the modern history of Inner Mongolia provided "national splittism" with abundant mental associations regarding political organization, then the contemporary Inner Mongolian history provided "national splittism" with generous evidence considering ideological line.*

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<sup>71</sup> Bulag 2002: 216.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Qi Zhi does not define as certain point where the history of IM turns from "modern" to "contemporary", and a common way of defining the two periods in the PRC is the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949. But as the land reform in Inner Mongolia, one of the defining manifestations of the "ideological line", started in late 1947 and the AR itself was established in 1947, one can argue, that dividing year of periodization in this case would be 1947.

<sup>74</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 57.

The "mental associations" (*lianxiang*) were powered by the history of Inner Mongolian autonomy movements, the period of Japanese occupation and "bogus Manchuria" (*weiman*), the EMAG and Ulanhu bringing it under CPC leadership. The characteristics of *ideological line* (*sixiang luxian*) were "pragmatic economic policies", summarized by Qi Zhi as "starting from reality, handling affairs based on nationality characteristics [*minzu tedian*]"<sup>75</sup>

In this part, the history of the IMAR is discussed bearing in mind the abovementioned characteristics. First the road towards the establishment of the IMAR is discussed concentrating on the Inner Mongolian autonomy movements, with an emphasis on the Eastern Mongolian case and how Ulanhu became the leader of the IMAR: Then the contemporary period is discussed with a focus on the characteristics based on pragmatism and nationality policy, and how this created a basis for the denouncement of Ulanhu in the beginning of the CR.

#### 4.1 Outer Mongolian Independence

During the Qing-rule Mongolia enjoyed a privileged position compared to China proper having become "a junior partner in founding the Qing"<sup>76</sup>. Mongolian traditions and the pastoral way of life were protected from Chinese influence by a ban on Chinese migration and intermarriage during most of the Qing-dynasty (1644–1911)<sup>77</sup>, but at the same time the Qing banner system divided Mongols into banners and migration between them was prohibited which prevented the emergence of a united political force among the Mongols. However, the Mongols' status in relationship with the Qing started to decline as a result of the increased importance of the "political economic collaboration with the Manchu monarch and the Han bureaucrats, gentry, farmers, and merchants" as the Qing began to transform into a "national state" through the modernization of the empire.<sup>78</sup> The shift was accelerated by the challenge of Western influence in China and lastly the *New Administration* (*xinzheng*) reforms of the early twentieth century that in China proper were intended to prevent anti-Manchu forces from growing and to gain the support of Chinese governors and foreigners, but in Mongolia took the form of Chinese colonialization.<sup>79</sup>

The weakening Manchu-rule and the increasing Chinese influence towards the end of the Qing dynasty, especially strong in Inner Mongolia, alerted the Outer Mongolian nobility and resulted in the declaration of a Mongolian state independent of the Qing empire on 29 December 1911

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid: 56.

<sup>76</sup> Bulag 2002: 6.

<sup>77</sup> Chinese migration did continue to grow and cultivation of land continued to increase towards the end of the Qing-era, but the prohibition remained intact until 1902 (Lan 1999: 39 – 41).

<sup>78</sup> Liu 2006: 8.

<sup>79</sup> Bulag 2002: 6; Lan 1999: 39 – 41; Liu 2006: 8, 13.

in Urga (Chinese: Kulun 庫倫, today's Ulaanbaatar) following a secret meeting between "princes and nobility of the four Khalkha aimags (leagues)" and a delegation sent to Russia for support.<sup>80</sup>

The status of the newborn Mongolian state remained ambivalent. The Republic of China (ROC) did not recognize the independence of Outer Mongolia and it was not internationally recognized, but remained "an autonomous state within Chinese suzerainty but also in the Russian sphere of influence".<sup>81</sup> The declaration of independence and the period of theocracy<sup>82</sup> led by the Bogd Khan was followed by a brief interruption in the Russian influence over Outer Mongolia during the revolution and civil war (1917–1922) in Russia which gave the opportunity to the Chinese government to attempt to "restore the sovereignty" in Outer Mongolia. However, this attempt failed and gave rise to a second revolution that also introduced a new political power, the Mongolian People's Party (MPP, renamed the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, MPRP, in 1925<sup>83</sup>), and marked the birth of "the oldest political satellite" of Soviet Russia).<sup>84</sup> Assisted by the Soviet Red Army, the MPP captured Urga by early July 1921 and established the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Government. The Outer Mongolia now declaring independence from China for the second time was named the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) in 1924.<sup>85</sup>

The Chinese nationalist had to tolerate Soviet influence and military presence in the MPR due to the Soviet assistance the GMD needed, but Outer Mongolia remained a part of the pan-nationalist idea of a *five-race republic* (*wuzugonghe*). The GMD-CCP split starting from 1927 and the purge of the CPC by Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石, 1887–1975) took Outer Mongolia

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<sup>80</sup> Lan (1999) notes that the Mongols in Outer Mongolia had already attempted to seek Russian support for independence in the late 1890s, before the New Administrative reforms. In Lan's interpretation the main reason for Outer Mongolian independence was the "alliance [between Manchus and Mongols] that could be broken when it failed to benefit them [the Mongols]" (Lan 1999: 52).

<sup>81</sup> Atwood 2004: 533.

<sup>82</sup> After the Qing Empire collapsed, Outer Mongolia experienced a period of theocracy which ended in Mongolia being fought over by China and White Russian troops. The subsequent revolutionary period (1921 – 40) ended with the great purge (1937 – 1940) and solidification of Communist dictatorship first under Marshal Khorloogiin Choibalsan (1885 – 1952). Mongolia was called the People's Republic of Mongolia from 1924 to 1992 until the 1992 constitution following the democratic revolution renamed the country the State of Mongolia. (Atwood 2004: 101, 369, 473.)

<sup>83</sup> The party was formed in June 1920 with the aims of protecting the Mongolian religion, restoring the Mongolian independence, and improving the commoners' lives. After the MPP began organizing on Russian territory, the Buriat Mongols who joined in added to its "sophistication and leftist tendencies". The manifesto approved by the party's First Congress in 1924 "called for restoring Outer Mongolia's equality as an independent state with other nations but also advocated eventual pan-Mongolian unification, possibly within a progressive, confederated China". The party was renamed the People's Revolutionary Party in March 1925 after Mongolia had been declared a people's republic. (Atwood 2004: 380)

<sup>84</sup> Liu 2006: 19-

<sup>85</sup> Liu 18 – 19; Atwood 380



even farther from the ROC government sphere of influence. The years of the Second Sino-Japanese war (1937–1945) were significant in consolidating the Soviet sphere of influence in the MPR and formalizing the divide between Inner and Outer Mongolia. The Soviet Union became the most important supplier of the united Chinese war effort against Japan, and the Soviet-Japanese conflicts<sup>86</sup> in the Soviet and MPR borders with Manchukuo in 1938–1939 strengthened the Soviet presence in Outer Mongolia. Unfortunately for the GMD government, the Soviet Union and Japan concluded a treaty of neutrality and agreed to the territorial integrity of MPR and Manchukuo. The GMD government practically lost contact with the MPR due to tightened border control on both sides.<sup>87</sup>

In Yalta, February 1945, the American, British, and Soviet leaderships agreed to a deal where Soviet territorial demands were supported in return to Soviet agreement to enter the war against Japan. August the same year, the GMD and Soviet governments concluded a treaty in Moscow confirming the result of the Yalta agreement. This “Friendship Treaty” of August 14 recognized (Outer) Mongolian independence on the “face saving condition” that the Mongolian people’s desire for independence was confirmed with a plebiscite.<sup>88</sup> The unanimous result (no votes against independence) was recognized by the Chinese government in early 1946. The reluctant agreement to Mongolian independence by the GMD came with trade-offs for restraints on Soviet expansion in Northwest and Northeast China and assistance in the GMD-CCP struggle. The Friendship treaty thus confirmed the separation of Outer Mongolia from China.<sup>89</sup>

## 4.2 Inner Mongolian Struggle for Autonomy

In Inner Mongolia, the early nationalist secessionist movements began among the traditional ruling elites trying to preserve the status quo instead of pursuing social reform. The much more sinicized Inner Mongolia was not able to seize the moment of instability following the fall of the Manchu court in the winter of 1911–1912. Some supporters of unified Mongolia among the aristocracy went to serve in the Urga government and the possibility for secession was discussed also in Inner Mongolia, but most of the aristocrats were protective of their own interests and decided to collaborate with the new emerging authorities, seeking continuation for their own

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<sup>86</sup> Two incidents, July 1938 and May 1939 Zhanggufeng and Nomonhan. Moscow and Ulaanbaatar concluded a mutual assistance pact in March 1936 creating a basis for increasing Soviet troops in the MPR (Globalsecurity).

<sup>87</sup> Liu 2006: 32 – 34.

<sup>88</sup> Atwood 2004: 438.

<sup>89</sup> Liu 2006: 39 – 41; Atwood 2004: 438.

interests from the ROC and the Yuan Shikai (1859–1916) government that reconfirmed the Qing-era titles and privileges on Mongol princes and lamas<sup>90</sup>

Lan (1999) lists four reasons Owen Lattimore thought to have decided the Inner Mongolian aristocracy's decision not to join Outer Mongolia: The Inner Mongolian princes believed that independence under the initiation of Outer Mongolia would lead to them being overshadowed by the princes of Outer Mongolia; the Inner Mongolian princes had greater economic dependence on China than the Outer Mongolian princes; the Inner Mongols felt that a republican China would be a weak state with which they could manage their relations as they pleased; the Inner Mongols feared the spread of Russian influence in Outer Mongolia, and believed they would have more real freedom in nominal association with China than under a nominal independence controlled in reality from Russia. Besides, Inner Mongolia was already crowded by permanent Chinese settlers, and extensive administrative control in addition to modern arms and railways provided China the possibility to suppress troubles which made secession risky. Inner Mongolia suffered more under the New Administration which created more active armed opposition, but they still lacked leaders who would unify them under the same political goal. Most of the ruling princes were already partly Sinicized and some of them approving of the reforms.<sup>91</sup>

The emergence of notable Inner Mongolian autonomy movements did not begin until the mid-1920s and developed in interplay between Chinese and foreign forces and influences. If the Outer Mongolian independence was tied to Russian and Soviet support, the Inner Mongolian autonomy movements were seeking support from a multitude of players: the Comintern/the Soviet Union, the GMD, the CPC, and Japan. As Liu puts it "In twentieth-century China, it was difficult for an ethnonationalist movement to maintain a purely ethnic political stand. Such a movement, always a weaker force challenging the dominant Chinese central authority, often sought to ally itself with a stronger foreign or rebellious Chinese force."<sup>92</sup>

### The Early IMPRP

The first considerable representative of Inner Mongolian autonomy movements, the *Inner Mongolian Nationalist (People's) Revolutionary Party* (IMPRP)<sup>93</sup> was founded in Zhangjiakou on

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<sup>90</sup> Liu 2006: 14 – 16.

<sup>91</sup> Lan 1999: 52 – 53.

<sup>92</sup> Liu 2006: 229.

<sup>93</sup> The form Inner Mongolian Nationalist (People's) Revolutionary Party (*Neimenggu guomin (renmin) gemingdang*) is used by Qi Zhi 2010 (35). Nakami (2003) has a possible explanation for the parentheses used by Qi Zhi: Guo Daofu referred to the party in Chinese as 'Neimenggu guomin gemingdang' (Inner Mongolian National

12 October 1925. The 125 attendees of the founding conference included representatives of Inner Mongolian leagues and banners, the Comintern, the GMD, the CPC, Feng Yuxiang's National Army, and the MPR. The Congress elected a 21-member Central Committee with Bai Yunti (白云梯, Serengdongrub)<sup>94</sup> as the chairman and Merse (Guo Daofu 郭道甫)<sup>95</sup> as the secretary-general. The spirit of the manifesto, the party programme, and the provincial policy adopted by the Congress express the goal of building a republic based on the principle of the five-race-nation and opposing imperialist powers, princes, and warlords; practicing democracy and ethnic equality; realizing equal land-rights and ethnic autonomy.<sup>96</sup>

The newly established IMPRP started with organizing its own army and had plans on building a *Mongolian National Army (Menggu guominjun)*, developing its support base and also recruiting among the upper stratum of Inner Mongolian society. However, the activities of the newly established IMPRP did not continue long due to the GMD-CPC split and the resulted end to the Comintern collaboration. In a special meeting of the Party in Ulaanbaatar in August 1927<sup>97</sup>, the People's Party split into two groups, one aligning itself with the Comintern and another with the GMD. In early 1928 Bai Yunti went to request the party to be incorporated into the GMD as a local branch office. He became the Inner Mongolian representative of the GMD government and later fled to Taiwan along with the GMD retreat in 1949.<sup>98</sup>

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Revolutionary Party), which reflected his interpretation of the Mongolian word *arad* (representing 'the people') in the Mongolian name of the Mongolian People's Party (later Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party) at a time when nationalism, rather than socialism, was the driving force of Mongolian revolution. Nakami adds, that the Mongol name of the party makes it appear "as a sister party of the Outer Mongolian MPRP", whereas the Chinese name "resonates with 'Zhongguo Guomindang'" i.e. the GMD. (Nakami 2003: 97 – 98).

<sup>94</sup> Bai Yunti (白云梯, Bayantai, 1894–1980), "sophisticated early Mongolian" revolutionary, later presented as traitor to the Mongolian nationality and revolution. Fled to Taiwan in 1949. (Bulag 2002: 143; Yang 2014: 20).

<sup>95</sup> Merse (Guo Daofu, 1894–?), Another "sophisticated early Mongolian" revolutionary, later presented as traitor to the Mongolian nationality and revolution. Son of a Daur (Dawo'er 達斡爾) noble family from Hulunbier'er. Took part in setting up the Hulunbuir Youth Party in 1918. Sacked from his job as a Russian translator in the Chinese foreign ministry due to praise of the (Outer) Mongolian revolution in his book *New Mongolia* (1923). Met with Sun Yat-sen in 1924 and was inspired by his Three People's Principles, publishing two books on the Mongolian question. Was instrumental in the founding of the IMPRP. One of the major leaders of the IMPRP with "extensive links with the MPR and the Soviet Union". Led a failed uprising in Hulunbuir league after the split of the party in 1927. Set up the Northeastern Banner Normal School in Mukden (Shenyang), "which became the cradle of Inner Mongolian modern education and nationalism". Merse sought refuge in the Soviet consulate after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and disappeared thereafter. His student Hafeng'a became one of the leaders of the IMPRP by its revival after the Japanese surrender in 1945. (Bulag 2002: 143 – 145.)

<sup>96</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 35 – 36.

<sup>97</sup> Before moving to Ulaanbaatar, the People's Party had already moved its headquarters west, first from Zhangjiakou to Baotou, and then to Yinchuan, due to their "military patron" Feng Yuxiang's Guominjun losing to Zhang Zuolin's Fengtian Army in northern China (Qi Zhi 2010: 36 – 37).

<sup>98</sup> Nakami 2003: 99; Qi Zhi 2010: 36 – 38.

Following the split of the party, the party politics in Inner Mongolia faded away for years. After Bai Yunti joined the GMD, the Inner Mongolian party became a part of the Nanjing party headquarters, but it practically lost contact to the some thousands of members left mostly in Baotou and Yikezhao (Ordos) regions and existed little more than in name only.<sup>99</sup>

#### Prince De

After the split of the the early IMPRP and the incorporation of its remains into the GMD government by Bai Yunti in 1928 and the establishment of Chinese provinces in Inner Mongolia the same year (see appendix: Map 2), Prince Demchungdongrub (De Wang 德王, Prince De, 1902–1962) became the “leading Mongol advocate of Inner Mongolian autonomy”.<sup>100</sup> De was prince in the “most traditional and conservative Inner Mongolian league”, Xilinguole (錫林郭勒, Shiliin Gol, Silingol)<sup>101</sup>, and had the dream of unifying Inner Mongolia under autonomy against the Chinese provinces. To win over the conservative princes he collected prestige by reaching to Panchen Lama for support in uniting the princes behind his cause.<sup>102</sup> Building temples to Panchen to gain political leadership and training his own military the same time, by May 1932 he had enough name to be appointed “the newly established job of pacification commissioner to Mongolia (*Mengu xuanfu shi*)”. But Prince De was not willing to become a Chinese agent of “pacification”, and declined the appointment to “launch transprovincial movement to establish an autonomous Mongolian government.”<sup>103</sup>

Threatened by Japanese advance in Inner Mongolia and colonization efforts by the Shanxi warlord Yan Xishan (阎锡山, 1886–1960) in the early 1930s, Prince De tried to negotiate Inner Mongolian autonomy with the GMD central government based on Sun Yat-sen’s (Sun Zhongshan 孙中山, 1866–1925) ideas of cultivating frontier minorities towards self-determination and self-rule. As a result of a congress of Inner Mongolian delegates in Bailingmiao (百灵庙, Batukhaalga, Beile-yin Süme) in October 1933 De Wang established an Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government that “claimed authority over all Mongols living within the *original territory* of the Inner Mongolian leagues, banners, and tribes”.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 39.

<sup>100</sup> Bulag 2010: 86 – 87.

<sup>101</sup> Atwood 2004: 141. The Xilinguole league of today (Xilinguole, 錫林郭勒), along with Alashan and Xing’an, is one of the remaining three Inner Mongolian leagues. The geographic domain of Xilinguole was expanded south in 1953 as a result of a merger with Chahar league. (Atwood 2004: 500.)

<sup>102</sup> For more on the Prince De and the Panchen, see Bulag 2010: 86 – 98.

<sup>103</sup> Bulag 2010: 87.

<sup>104</sup> Atwood 2004: 141; Leibold 2007: 60 – 62 (original italics).

Despite eventually winning the official support of the central government and Jiang Jieshi for the establishment of a Mongolian Political Council (MPC)<sup>105</sup> in 1935, that “was mandated to manage Mongolian affairs in the three provinces” of Suiyuan, Chahar, and Xilinguole. He was able to recruit Mongols of different backgrounds, including GMD and CPC supporters, and the MPC “became a beacon of hope to Mongols of all strata and political ambitions”.<sup>106</sup>

However, De was frustrated by Chiang’s disinterest to support the Mongols against the threat of Japanese invasion and to address the problem of the Suiyuan and Shanxi authorities not accepting and respecting the MPC’s autonomy. This led to De Wang turn to Japan for support for Inner Mongolian autonomy and to eventually signing an agreement of cooperation between the MPC and Manchukuo in Xinjing (nowadays Changchun) in December 1935.<sup>107</sup>

The agreement of Prince De and the Japanese army was “that Japan would first help Prince De to establish an independence movement among the leagues and banners of western Inner Mongolia, after which a Mongolian state would be established”.<sup>108</sup> However, collaboration with Japan did not bring independence to Inner Mongolia. Prince De proceeded to organize the Mongolian Army Headquarters in Wuzhumuqin (乌珠穆沁 Üjümüchin, Ujumchin) right banner and inaugurated the Mongolian military government in February 1936 in Dehua naming himself chairman and adopting a new calendar counted from the birthday of Chinggis Khan, its first year being the 731th of Chinggis Khan.<sup>109</sup>

De Wang’s Mongolian Army took part in the failed Japanese-organized joint attack to Wuiyuan in October-November 1946, and a successful one to southern Chaha’er, northern Shanxi and Suiyuan regions the following year. Refusing De Wang’s proposal of an independent Mongolia, the Japanese decided to set up a new government with its seat in Guisui that was now renamed Hohhot. Prince Yun (Yunduanwangchuke, head of the Ulaanchab league) was named chairman, but died to an illness before assuming his post, and the vice-chairman De Wang assumed chairmanship of the new “puppet” *United Mongolian Autonomous Government* (UMAG).<sup>110</sup>

After the unsuccessful Zhanggufeng (Battle of Lake Khasan, JulyAugust 1938) and Nuomonhan (Battles of Khalkhyn Gol, MaySeptember 1939 ) battles Japan changed its orientation towards a

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<sup>105</sup> Mongolian Local Autonomous Political Affairs Council (*Menggu difang zihzi zhengwu weiyuanhui* or *Mengzhenghui*) (Leibold 2007: 65). In Bulag (2010), Local Mongolian Political Council (LMPC) (137).

<sup>106</sup> Bulag 2010: 138.

<sup>107</sup> Bulag 2010: 137; Leibold 63 – 68; Lu 2007: 151.

<sup>108</sup> Lu 2007: 152.

<sup>109</sup> Bulag 2010: 43; Lu 2007: 152 – 154.

<sup>110</sup> Lu 2007: 155 – 157.

concentrated attack to occupy China proper, in which the *Manmo*<sup>111</sup> became a region of strategic defence and political foundation. The UMAG was merged with Southern Chaha'er and Northern Shanxi, two collaborationist regimes, into the *Mongolian Border Region United Autonomous Government (Mengjiang 蒙疆)* on September 1, 1939, of which De Wang was made chairman, but chief advisor Kanai Shoji having actual control of the government. The capital of the Mengjiang was in Zhangjiakou, and its striped flag of yellow, blue, white, and red represented the different peoples of the area (Han, Mongol, Hui) with red stripe in the middle standing for the ruling Japan.<sup>112</sup>

The Mengjiang government was renamed Mongolian Autonomous State in August 1941, and Prince De was able to gain back "more than nominal authority" with the transfer of Kanai Shoji, but De, "wearied by constant political struggles", "redirected his attention to educational, publishing, and economic reforms among the Mongols".<sup>113</sup> He fled to Beijing after the Soviet-Mongolian invasion in August 1945 where he remained semiretired. He made one last try to establish Mongol autonomy in Alashan (阿拉善 Alasha, Alxa) in January 1949, after which he was sentenced to hard labor as a counterrevolutionary by the CPC government until 1963. De Wang died of illness in Hohhot on 23 May 1966. According to Atwood (2004) the "stubborn by nature and conscious of his privileges as a prince", De Wang "is still respected by most Inner Mongolians", for his insistence for Mongols equal treatment. He demanded higher autonomy from the GMD government and ended up turning to the Japanese for help. For both the GMD and the CPC Prince De was guilty of treason, a collaborationist, either as *Hanjian* (汉奸) as the general term for Chinese (regardless of nationality) collaborating with enemies was in GMD usage, or as *Mengjian* (蒙奸), a term the CPC came up with in 1936–1937.<sup>114</sup>

#### IMPRP

The split of the GMD-CPC alliance (1923–1927) left one part of the early People's Party under Comintern guidance. Secessionism had been forbidden for the Inner Mongols during the united front, but now as China was ruled by Chiang Kai-shek, it became "the proper revolutionary policy"<sup>115</sup>. The underground activities were divided into western (Chahar, Suiyuan, and Ningxia provinces) and eastern (Rehe, Jilin, and Liaoning provinces, and parts of Heilongjiang province)

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<sup>111</sup> The three northeastern provinces, the Hulunbeir region, Zhelimu, Zhaowuda, Zhuosutu, and Xilinguole leagues, and left and right wings of Chahar Eight Banners (Lu 2007: 168).

<sup>112</sup> Atwood 2004: 141; Lu 2007: 156 – 162.

<sup>113</sup> Atwood 2004: 141.

<sup>114</sup> Atwood 2004: 142; Bulag 2010: 102 – 104; Yang 16.

<sup>115</sup> Atwood 1992: 13.

branch bureaus that mediated between the local organs and the Central Committee of the IMPRP located in Ulaanbaatar<sup>116</sup>.

Between the late 1920s and early 1930s the Comintern sent Inner Mongolian agents to undertake party work in their assigned areas, among them Termurbagen (Temu'erbagen 特木尔巴根, Temürbagana 1901-1969)<sup>117</sup>, assigned to Kerqin (Ke'erqin 科尔沁 Khorchin) Left Middle Banner in Rehe (热河) province (in today's Tongliao), who became one of the most important IMPRP leaders. Eastern Inner Mongolia was a fertile ground for Mongol autonomy and independence movements, as the resentment against warlord domination was strong, and was further intensified by the ruthless suppression of a rebellion led by Kerqin military leader Gaadaa Meiren against colonization plans implemented by the Northeast warlord Zhang Xueliang (张学良 1901–2001) right before Temurbagen's arrival.<sup>118</sup>

The Japanese invasion attack in the Northeast in 1931 gave the *Inner Mongolian Autonomous Army* (IMAA), formed by different groups of educated youth and rebel troops, a chance to "strike for independence", but their attempt soon fell short as the Japanese were able to draw the IMAA in their direction. The resistance in the north of eastern Inner Mongolia, where Merse had gone to resist Japanese imperialism with some of his Daur students, failed too and Merse disappeared<sup>119</sup>. The official end of the eastern Mongolian fight for independence came on 18 February 1932, when a resolution approving the Japanese plan for a Khinggan (Xing'an 兴安) autonomous Mongol province within Manchukuo was passed.<sup>120</sup>

The Khinggan era under Japanese rule brought many reforms that met the demands of the young Mongols and created opportunities for the new educated class in the Khinggan administration. Borders were drawn between Mongolian and Chinese areas and the military, administrative, and cultural structures were to be Mongolian from top to bottom, in language and in nationality<sup>121</sup> The Mongol nobility lost most of the privileges adhering to their titles and

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> The same year another Moscow-educated activist, Ulanhu, was sent to western Inner Mongolia (Qi Zhi 2010: 40). Temurbagen was imprisoned briefly in 1936 after his secret activities caught the attention of the Japanese, after which he remained under Japanese surveillance until the end of the war (Liu 2006: 130).

<sup>118</sup> Atwood 1992: 13.

<sup>119</sup> According to Nakami, Merse was taken under guard to the Soviet Union through the Soviet consulate in Manzhouli (2003: 104).

<sup>120</sup> Atwood 1992: 14 – 15.

<sup>121</sup> Some consequences of the "nativisation" included the Chinese officials in Khinggan who chose to stay having to take Mongolian names and learn the Mongolian language, which was the command language. The East Mongolian practice of having a Chinese name not related to one's Mongolian name (Khafungga in Mongolian, Teng Xuwen in

the replacement of the noble banner rulers (*zasag*) was no longer hereditary. The selection of the reorganized banner government personnel was in theory based on merit and also banner members who had moved from other areas were eligible to work in the banner government. Most importantly, the reforms brought by the Japanese rule created a large number of offices offering the educated youth positions of influence.<sup>122</sup>

The Khinggan period also expanded the opportunities for modern education, as modern elementary schools were established in all the Mongolian banners of the Manchurian Empire. The language of instruction was Mongolian and Japanese was thought as well. The high schools established in many of the banners with two normal schools (in Kailu and Zalan Ail/Zhalantun) and the more advanced Khinggan Normal School (in Wangyemiao) offered the Inner Mongolian youth a full program of modern education for the first time<sup>123</sup>.

Despite the reforms, increase in prosperity, and the new opportunities for the young Mongols, the situation was not what the Mongols had longed for. Nakami sees that the Japanese did foster “some kind of confidence” in Mongol identity by “praising Genghis Khan and the glorious past of the Mongol empire”, and on the other hand, by containing Mongol nationalism strengthened the Mongol identity rising from resistance to Japan, but their interests were geopolitical and not aimed at, and not in the position to allow, the establishment of a Mongol state<sup>124</sup>. Mongols were given more administrative responsibilities, but the actual power was still in the hands of Japanese officials. Many traditionally Mongolian banner areas were left outside the Khinggan province and the separation from Prince De’s government in western Inner Mongolia prevented the emergence of a united Inner Mongolia. Ideologically the abolishment of feudal socio-political structures were welcome for the Soviet-trained youth yearning for independence with socialism and communism, but often the nobility and the Buddhist clergy maintained positions of influence in the government and society. As signs of displeasure many Khinggan officials left for Prince De’s government in the west or joined secret revolutionary groups and the era was “punctuated by espionage scandals” severely dealt with, again adding to the resentment against the Japanese.<sup>125</sup>

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Chinese) was often replaced by the practice of transcribing one’s Mongolian name into Chinese characters (Khafungga to Hafeng’a 哈丰阿) (Atwood 1992: 16).

<sup>122</sup> Atwood 1992: 15 – 18.

<sup>123</sup> Atwood 1992: 18. Atwood, writing in 1992, noted that most common foreign language in Mongolian-medium high schools in Inner Mongolia was still Japanese.

<sup>124</sup> Nakami 2003: 103 – 104.

<sup>125</sup> Atwood 1992: 20. For some examples of Mongol espionage cases in Khinggan see Atwood 1992: 20 – 21.



The core members of the IMPRP, like Temurbagen and Hafenga (Hafeng'a 哈丰阿, Khafungga 1908–1970), kept their allegiance to the Comintern-led People's Revolutionary Party secret and concentrated recruitment work among intellectuals using their contacts from school days and in the Khinggan army<sup>126</sup>. But at the same time, the Soviet Union had decided that the IMPRP nationalist approach was too divisive to be continued. To avoid a weak Chinese southern front that would enable the Japanese to attack the Soviet Union, the revocation of the GMD-CPC United Front was initiated in the 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Third Communist International in Moscow in August 1935. The 1 August anti-Japanese appeal to the Chinese people by Wang Ming (王明 1904 – 1974) and other Moscow-based Chinese Communists<sup>127</sup> had no mention of self-determination for the Mongols or any other minority, and the Soviet Union restored diplomatic relations with Nanjing<sup>128</sup>. At the same time (1935) the IMPRP Central Committee in Ulaanbaatar was dissolved, but apparently there was no attempt to inform the East Mongols of the change of policy regarding Inner Mongolian self-determination.<sup>129</sup>

The Soviet Red Army troops took Khinggan in only a couple of days in August 1945<sup>130</sup>, and East Mongolia was open to competing political forces. Presenting itself as an alternative to the Chinese parties, the IMPRP issued a "Declaration of Liberation of the People of Inner Mongolia" on August 18, announcing the continued existence of an "East Mongolian Department" of the IMPRP. The declaration expressed the will to unite Inner Mongolia with the MPR, follow a road of non-capitalist development, promote equality of all people in Inner Mongolia regardless of ethnicity, and to cooperate with "allied Chinese revolutionary parties". But soon the Mongols received the text of the Sino-Soviet Treaty, signed on 26 August, that "provided the independence of the MPR, but specifically left Inner Mongolia within China", which made the

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<sup>126</sup> By the end of World War II the IMPRP had over 100 members within and in the surrounding regions of the Khinggan province (Atwood 1992: 22 – 23).

<sup>127</sup> *August 1st Manifesto* 八一宣言 or *A Letter Calling All Compratriots to Resist Japan* 为抗日告全体同胞书. The Manifesto "entirely the product of the Chinese Comintern delegation" [i.e. not coming from within China] was first published in the Paris-based newspaper *Jiuguo bao* on 7 November from where it then was posted to China for publication (Garver 1988: 36).

<sup>128</sup> However, it should be remembered that the December 1935 manifesto/declaration to the Inner Mongolian people did promise the Inner Mongolian people the right to self-determination. Atwood (1992) notes that "the Chinese Communists still promised the right of secession to the Mongols up until 1937," when the CPC finally accepted the GMD-CPC united front, and compares the development of the CPC view on minority self-determination to that in Yugoslavia: "Calls for the recognition of the *right* of self-determination in the twenties, followed by a switch to demanding immediate minority secession in 1928, and then a reversal to an explicitly anti-secessionist position on 1935" (Atwood 1992: 74).

<sup>129</sup> Atwood 1992: 22 – 23; Garver 1988: 34 – 36.

<sup>130</sup> First Soviet planes over Inner Mongolia were observed on August 7, the troops arrived two days later and the war in Khinggan was practically over by August 12 (Atwood 1992: 26).

IMPRP leaders to realize that joining the MPR was not an immediate option, and they would first have to develop their own organization.<sup>131</sup>

The first Congress of the East Mongolian Department was held on 5 September 1945. Only twenty-three party members showed up (27 invited) to the congress led by Hafenga, the head of the secretariat, and the three chairmen, Boyanmandu (博彦满都, Buyanmandukhu 1894-1980), Temurbagen, and Sgarazhab. The party presented itself as a poor peasant's party, but turned to the intelligentsia and old Khinggan officials for political survival. This contradiction was resolved with the concepts of "New Democracy" and "democratic revolution" that would be the transitional stage in which the upper-strata elements still play a part. The short-term aim was a "free union of a new democratic New China" (Maoist vocabulary) in coalition with or led by the CPC, and the ultimate goals were a union with MPR, socialism, and communism. The party established contacts with both the GMD and the CPC, with emphasis on avoiding any open conflict with the Chinese, but with a suspicious attitude towards the GMD and belief in friendship with the Chinese Communists. They had trouble gaining access to the Mongols of the MPR because the joint advance of the MPR and Soviet troops in Inner Mongolia against Japan had left the Wangyemiao area to the Soviet Red Army instead of MPR troops.<sup>132</sup>

After the party decided to go public in September 1945 their activities developed rapidly. Young intellectuals were deployed to collect names for petitions for union with the MPR in their home regions. Also, the recruitment of new party members was accelerated. On 9 October 1945, 31 petitions "each with a mass of signatures from 21 banners were sent via the Red Army to Choibalsang"<sup>133</sup>. Also, a delegation of 12 members was organized to seek Ulaanbaatar's support for unification<sup>134</sup>. However, Choibalsang declined the idea of eastern Inner Mongolia joining the MPR and urged the delegation to dissolve the IMPRP and accept the unified leadership of the CPC.<sup>135</sup>

While the hopes of the IMPRP leaders of joining the MPR were crushed, the rapid development of party activities had the effect of creating a mass movement behind it. The IMPRP organized militarily establishing a new Central Khinggan Local Garrison Corps with soviet support to patrol the area of Wang-un Süme and nearby towns. A public hygiene and epidemic prevention unit

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<sup>131</sup> Atwood 1992: 30.

<sup>132</sup> Atwood 1992: 32 – 33.

<sup>133</sup> Atwood 1992: 38.

<sup>134</sup> The delegation left for Ulaanbaatar on 14 October 1945 and returned late-November.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid: 35 – 38, 42.

was also organized and began the work of controlling the bubonic plague epidemic that had hit the area.<sup>136</sup>

The IMPRP began organizing mass assemblies and people's governments in different parts of the Khinggan area. The IMPRP did not fully comply with Ulabaatar's instructions on dissolving the party and accepting CPC leadership, probably due to the strong support for Mongolian unity that was observed during the process of collecting mass petitions. They increased cooperation with the communists but at the same time tried to establish itself as an autonomous political agent allied to the Communist but free to negotiate with the Nationalists. This was to be achieved by taking control of their territory and setting up a government.<sup>137</sup>

The People's Congress of East Mongolia was held January 16–20, 1946 in Gegenmiao (葛根庙 Gegen Sūme , near Bailingmiao). The size of the Congress was remarkable, totaling 2,200 participants of whom almost 300 were voting delegates, several times more than the founding Congress of the IMPRP in 1925, and the First Mongolian Congress in 1936 that founded Prince De's government.<sup>138</sup>

The Congress adopted an Autonomous Law, essentially a constitution for the new government, as well as programs of administration and of economic development. A manifesto justifying the creation of an autonomous government in terms of the principles of self-determination and self-rule adopted by the First Congress of the GMD in 1924 was produced. The manifesto defined the government of East Mongolia as an autonomous organ within the territory of the ROC. "The East Mongolian government was actually running an independent state which was voluntarily refraining from opening foreign relations or proclaiming its *de jure* independence."<sup>139</sup>

The central administration was headed by Boyanmandu, Hafenga was the chairman of the secretariat, and Temurbagen headed the Ministry of Economy. The actual administrative tasks devolved onto the six provinces into which the autonomous government was divided, four of which the Autonomous Government of East Mongolia had actual control: Khinggan, Zhirim (Zhelimu 哲里木), Zuu Uda (Zhaowuda 昭乌达), Naun Muren (Nawen muren 纳文穆仁).<sup>140</sup> The former Khinggan North province, Khölön Buir (Hulunbei'er 呼伦贝尔), had its own Autonomous Provincial Government established in October 1, 1945 headed by popular local leader

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<sup>136</sup> Atwood 1992: 35 – 39.

<sup>137</sup> Atwood 1992: 40 – 42.

<sup>138</sup> Atwood 1992: 46.

<sup>139</sup> Atwood 1992: 46.

<sup>140</sup> Atwood 1992: 46 – 47.

Erkhimbatu and supported by the Soviet Union. The southernmost Zosotu (Zhuosutu 卓索图) Province was under the Communist Hebei-Rehe-Liaoning regime, to which Bai Yunhang (Bai Yunti's brother) who was sent to the area by the Wangyemiao government, joined perforce. Military forces were organized into the People's Autonomus Army of East Mongolia, under the overall command of Askhan, and its brigades, essentially garrison forces, were divided by territory.<sup>141</sup>

The East Mongolian Autonomous Government (EMAG), officially inaugurated on 15 February 1946, initially kept up an appearance of neutrality, but forged connections with and developed to the direction of the Communists. The EMAG and the CPC West Manchurian Branch Bureau organized trade, students', and women's unions in cooperation, as well as set up the East Mongolian Military and Political Cadre School, with Hafenga as the school president and the CPC newly established Wangyemiao liaison office's Hu Zhaoheng (胡昭衡, 1915–1999) as the political commissar. The party was taken leftwards in March 1946 with a reorganization, and a new party programme imitating "the Communist party constitution adopted at Yan'an in 1945. The IMPRP defined the poor peasants and herdsmen as the ones in need of protection from the rich ones. Also more importance was paid to unity of the whole of Inner Mongolia, drawing the party closer to Ulanhu's Federation of the Autonomous Movement of Inner Mongolia.<sup>142</sup>

The evacuation of the Soviet Red Army stationed in the Northeast and also Wangyemiao in the spring of 1946 added to the need of the Eastern Mongolian government to choose sides between the warring Chinese parties. The reluctance of the Nationalist government to approve the EMAG in March confirmed the need to negotiate with the CPC. IMPRP leaders met with Ulanhu first in Chifeng (赤峰, Ula'ankhada) and then on 30 march 1936 in Chengde (承德), where Ulanhu was able to convince (or coerce<sup>143</sup>) the IMPRP leaders to bring the EMAG under the leadership of Ulanhu's Lianhehui and the CPC. The East Mongolian military forces were placed under the Eight Route Army commands of the neighboring regions. The agreement came with conditions of approval from the East Mongolian People's Congress, separated jurisdiction for Mongolian areas in mixed counties, and leadership positions in the Lianhehui for the eastern Mongols. Hafenga and Temurbagen became members of the CPC, Boyanmandu (who had been the leader of the Manchukuo Khinggan province) either did not want or was not allowed to join.

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<sup>141</sup> Atwood 1992: 46 – 48.

<sup>142</sup> Atwood 1992: 50 – 51.

<sup>143</sup> For an example of Ulanhu's "verbal assault" on the IMPRP leaders, see Atwood 1992: 65 – 66. Atwood describes Ulanhu as the "bad cop" of the negotiations, accusing the IMPRP "following the line of the feudal upper stratum", having officials of the Manchurian government in the party, and by pointing out, that it was the Communists and not IMPRP that had fought the Japanese in the 1930s and the 1940s.

General Branch Federation of East Mongolia under Hafenga was set up to mediate between Ulanhu and the local eastern Mongolian governments. Boyanmandu was made deputy chairman of the Federation. The Mongolian revolution of 1921 was still held up as the model for Inner Mongolian revolution and “the slogan ‘Long live Choibalsang’” retained through 1947<sup>144</sup>. The EMAG was officially dissolved by the Congress of East Mongolia government on 25 May 1946. The IMPRP was also dissolved.<sup>145</sup>

In practice Ulanhu had now successfully brought the EMAG under CPC leadership and the story of the IMPRP ended but the memory of Inner Mongolian independence and autonomy movements and the IMPRP would strike back at many of the Mongol leaders during the Cultural Revolution.

#### 4.3. Ulanhu and the Politics of Difference

There was a short period in late 1946 and early 1947 when the IMPRP leaders contemplated bringing back the IMPRP<sup>146</sup>, but the thought was thrown aside by late April and early May 1947, and despite Ulanhu being faced with opposition at the founding conference of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Government (IMAG) in Wangyemiao from Mongols “who stood for neutrality in the civil war and opposed land reform as unnecessary in Inner Mongolia”, but the result of the conference turned on Ulanhu’s side and the new Autonomous Region was established under CPC control and the redundant Lianhehui was abolished.<sup>147</sup> The establishment of the IMAG was declared on May 1 and a nineteen-member Government Committee was elected. Ulanhu became chairman of the new government, with Hafenga as the deputy chairman<sup>148</sup> Ulanhu had successfully brought the EMAG and eastern Inner Mongolia under CPC leadership and created the first minority autonomy region for the CPC<sup>149</sup>.

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<sup>144</sup> Atwood 1992: 64.

<sup>145</sup> Atwood 1992: 64 – 68; Qi Zhi 2010: 47 – 48.

<sup>146</sup> The Northeast Bureau of the CPC considered the revival of the IMPRP in the shape of “Democratic (People’s) Party possible, if the people of Eastern Mongolia demanded it, but on the condition of it being led by the CPC and the CPC having command of the military. Qi Zhi describes that the destiny a “united party of all revolutionary parties” allowed based on the consideration of a united front policy would have been the same as the “democratic parties” in Mainland China afterwards [the eight non-communist parties with no actual power]. (Qi Zhi 2010: 48 – 52.)

<sup>147</sup> Atwood 1992: 69.

<sup>148</sup> From the persons mentioned in this thesis, the new government committee members included Ulanhu, Hagenga, Temurbagen, Kuibi, Asigen (Askhan), Wang Zaitian (王再天) (Hao 1991: 20),

<sup>149</sup> At first the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Government covered only the eastern part of Inner Mongolia. Suiyuan-province making most of the western The IMAR reached its nowadays frontiers only in 3 April 1956 when the autonomous Mongol prefecture (*zhou*) Bayanhaote (巴彦浩特) and autonomous Mongol banner Ejina (额济纳) of Gansu province were incorporated into the IMAR and Alashan (阿拉善) league was established.

Following the establishment of the IMAG, the “ideological evidence” of “nationali splittism” mentioned above started to pile up from the “politics of difference” (as Bulag 2002 describes Ulanhu’s strategies) that emphasized the difference between Mongols and Chinese and the Inner Mongolian local characteristics to block policies Ulanhu “deemed unfavorable to the Mongols”.<sup>150</sup> These politics of difference became the major theme of the CR denouncement of Ulanhu. Below are two examples of how Ulanhu’s “politics of difference” appeared in land reforms in Inner Mongolia.

#### Lessons in IMAR Characteristics – Land Reform

One of the earliest minority specific policies that were to become “crimes” during the CR was the so called “Three Nos and Two Benefits (*san bu liang li*)” policy<sup>151</sup>, that was brought up by Ulanhu as a solution to the disaster brought by early land reform in pastoral regions of Inner Mongolia. After the establishment of the IMAG the CPC-GMD civil war broke out and the IMAG-controlled territory was designated as a “liberated region” (*jiefangqu*) where an all-out land reform was to be implemented.<sup>152</sup>

This land reform was violent and in both agricultural and pastoral regions. In agricultural regions the land reform was about distributing “land to the tiller” (as the slogan went) seeking to eradicate feudalism and also “consolidating the revolutionary regime” by “eliminating social bases of Japanese collaborators and GMD supporters” and strengthening CPC support among the peasants who gained land.<sup>153</sup> This hit many of the top Mongol leaders who were both landlords and feudal elemnts, and had also served the Japanese government during the Xing’an period. Former Monogl landlords were violently struggled against, to the extent that they that the top officials had to be protected by Ulanhu (which later became a crime of his).<sup>154</sup> In July 1948 Ulanhu analyzed the “left” deviationst to Inner Mongolian cadres (July 30 1948), bringing

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Before this, some major inclusions were parts of the divided Rehe province in July 1955, and Suiyuan province in March 1954. (Hao 1991: 516 – 517.) For information on minor additions to the IMAR territory see maps in Qi Zhi (2010: 51, 83).

<sup>150</sup> Bulag 2002: 225

<sup>151</sup> Bulag 2002: 119 – 120. “The Three Nos and Two Benefits” (*san bu liang li*) was a policy, that “proposed that in the pastoral regions there should be no property distribution (*bu fen*), no class labeling (*bu hua jieji*), and no class struggle (*bu dou*). Herdlords and their workers were regarded as symbiotic, with each benefiting the other (*liang li*) (Bulag 2002: 120.; Chinese added)” The Tree Nos policy became a CCP policy in minority pastoral regions after the founding of the PRC. (Bulag 2002: 121)

<sup>152</sup> Bulag 2002: 114 – 115.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid: 115 – 116.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid: 116 – 117.

up the problem of not "specifying targets" of struggle "according to the actual situation of Inner Mongolia", but the land reform in agricultural regions was executed through.<sup>155</sup>

In the pastoral regions, where there were only few Chinese, the violence was of intraethnic character. Class labeling was based on number of animals possessed, which made rich Mongols distributed animals to subordinates or "slaughtered animals en masse" to avoid being labeled herdords (*muzhu*), and therefore confiscation of property and physical elimination. The poor Mongols on the other hand were afraid of being labeled herdlords due to the newly acquired animals, and thus tried to get rid of animals through consumption. "Within a very short time, not only were some among the Mongol elite killed, but there was a catastrophic loss of animals".<sup>156</sup> The resistance of some Mongols herdlords, at its peak, the Ulanmug rebel in Xing'an league in February 1948<sup>157</sup>, was put down by the IMAG Army. In a self-criticism of the Northeast Bureau of the CPC in June 1949 the failure to distinguish between Mongols and Chinese and the mistake of trying to apply practices from Chinese areas to the Mongol areas were admitted.<sup>158</sup> For the future work the self-criticism suggested education of cadres in nationality policy, training of Mongolian cadres, distinguishing between different policies to different regions and understanding the need for a gradual implementation of democratic policy.<sup>159</sup>

Ulanhu's solution to the problems of land reform in pastoral regions was that of the reform and the Three Nos and Two Benefits policy, that protected pastoral regions from property distribution, class labeling, and class struggle, and recognized the herdordherd worker relationship as mutually beneficial. This policy was made official in Harbin conference in July-August 1948.<sup>160</sup> Bulag (2002) has described, that Ulanhu "introduced a new boundary" between agrarian China and pastoral areas in Inner Mongolia. The Mongolian herdlords "were redefined as different from Chinese landlords", and the herd workers "were to be treated as national capitalists – that is, as progressive elements".<sup>161</sup> Also in the agricultural regions measures were adopted "to prevent Chinese peasants from further struggling against Mongol landlords", but Mongol peasants were allowed to take part in struggling against Chinese landlords.<sup>162</sup> Bulag finds

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<sup>155</sup> Bulag 2002: 117.

<sup>156</sup> Bulag 2002: 119.

<sup>157</sup> In this open rebellion, "more than two hundred rebels killed land reform cadres and attempted to flee to the MPR with many followers and horses" (Bulag 2002: 119). )

<sup>158</sup> The "leftist mistakes" were not only directly related to economy, but also destructions of monasteries, prohibitions on Buddha worship, and even discrimination against speaking Mongolian in the army were brought up in the criticism (Bulag 2002: 119 – 120). .

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Bulag 2002: 120.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid: 120 – 121.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid

ironic, that "ideological unity meant ethnic disunion, for unrestrained class struggle eventually developed into national confrontation once again", that Mongols were no longer seen as an "oppressed small nation", but internal class relation became defining in ethnically mixed areas and many Mongols became targets of class struggle.<sup>163</sup>

Ulanhu's Three Nos and Two Benefits policy was a success. With other related policies it "arouse the productive enthusiasm of herdlords and herdsmen" bringing growth to pastoral economy. It was made a countrywide policy in pastoral regions in 1953.<sup>164</sup> IBulag explains, that the argument of Mongol distinctiveness was accepted by the Chinese leaders not only because of the deviations in class struggle and land reform, but also because the Inner Mongols became a model "for soliciting support from other ethnic minorities in China and/or incorporation in a future "unified China".<sup>165</sup>

#### Discourse of Difference in Tumed Banner

Another example of nationality-specific policies and conflicting ideologies comes from the land reform and in Suiyuan province. Already before it became a part of the IMAR (1954), in 1951 Suiyuan land reform Ulanhu was able to pass instructions that would allow the Mongols in agricultural banners to possess twice as much land as the Chinese, and their class status "would be determined exclusively by the volume of exploitation (exploitative income), rather than the amount of land owned".<sup>166</sup> The Chinese saw the Mongols as land owners, the Mongols insisted that they were that "in name only" because of the warlord control and counties set up on banner territory. "The Mongols' class status was consequently set one rung lower than that of Chinese with similar class statuses", their treatment based on living standards instead of land ownership.<sup>167</sup> The low-level farming skills of landless or poor Mongols were made up by giving them twice as much land as the Chinese.<sup>168</sup> This protected many Mongols from being classified as landlords. The "earlier yardstick" had been 20% of Mongols classified as landlords, but in the banners subject to land reform in Suiyuan province, only 5,4% of households and 7,7% of Mongol individuals were classified as such, the others being "tenants, poor peasants, middle peasants, and small renters".<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 64.

<sup>165</sup> Bulag 2002: 121.

<sup>166</sup> Bulag 2002: 122. It should be noted too, that Suiyuan is where Ulanhu's native Tumed banner was located, and Ulanhu was from a wealthy peasant family, bringing "a personal stake" to the case (ibid.).

<sup>167</sup> Bulag 2002: 123.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.



Advantages of this approach were, that land was made available to “Chinese tenants, hired laborers, and the land poor generally”, and the separate criteria of class designation “avoided a situation of branding huge numbers of Mongols as landlords, so making the reality congruent with the earlier communist class-nationality principle, whereby ethnic minorities are viewed as oppressed and exploited by the majority”.<sup>170</sup> But, neither Mongols nor Chinese were satisfied. Mongols lost most of the land that historically belonged to them, and the Chinese deemed unfair that they received less and often poorer land than the Mongols and the Mongols’ “class status was improved in an ideological sense that is, lowered”.<sup>171</sup>

Then, as the peasants started to form cooperatives in the Tumed region in the mid-1950s, the situation complicated further. First, in the cooperatives (Mongols mostly in ethnically mixed cooperatives), the individuals were paid a dividend based on labor and contribution of assets (*gufen*: agricultural tools, animals, land), which meant that “most Mongols received greater dividends than Chinese” due to them having provided more land. This angered the Chinese who were both the majority and also the more skilled labor force. The Advanced Agricultural Producers Cooperatives (*gaoji she*) were introduced in 1956, and income was determined exclusively based on labor, and the Mongols were impoverished (as they had smaller families, and many male adults had been lost in the war) resulting many Mongols wanting to quit the cooperatives.<sup>172</sup>

“The Mongol-dominated Tumed banner party committee” responded by introducing land compensation (*tudi baouchou*) in April 1947, that specified that in Mongol-minority joint cooperatives the Mongols “could be given extra land”, but the program was never fully implemented.<sup>173</sup> Under the anti-rightist campaign in 1959 the Mongols were forced to give up their land compensation and “their grievances were also criticized as manifestations of ‘local nationalism’”.<sup>174</sup> And after the Great Leap Forward catastrophe in 1962 private plots were introduced as substitute for the land compensation. In February 1963 “the Inner Mongolia party committee and government headed by Ulanhu adopted a special measure to double the standard private plot allowance to the Tumed Mongols, so that they could grow sideline products to make up for their poverty”.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Bulag 2002: 124.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid..

<sup>172</sup> Bulag 2002: 124 – 125.

<sup>173</sup> Bulag 2002: 125.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

As the CR drew nearer, the possibility of a discourse of 'difference' was further weakened by the Sino-Soviet hostility from the early 1960s onwards and the geopolitical position of the Mongols between China and the Soviet sphere of influence.<sup>176</sup> After Mao Zedong "reinitiated the class struggle" with stating the "never forget class struggle" in September 1962, and commenting on the American Black civil rights movement in August 1963 by saying that "nationality struggle is, in the final analysis, a question of class struggle", the nationality question became replaced with class struggle, or as Bulag puts it, "we witness the virtual abandonment by the Chinese communists of the nationality principle."<sup>177</sup> In a socialist country "where everyone was proclaimed equal" raising the nationality issue was considered backward thinking and class consciousness, and the nationality problem was to be seen as a problem of class struggle.<sup>178</sup> These two examples of Ulanhu's policies that emphasized the differences between the Mongols and the Chinese, agriculture and pastoral economy, and "starting from Inner Mongolian reality" are only two rather specific cases but show the potential conflict that would emerge, and was emerging before the CR.

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<sup>176</sup> Bulag 2002: 125.

<sup>177</sup> Bulag 2002: 125 – 126.

<sup>178</sup> Bulag 2002: 126.

## 5. Inner Mongolian Cultural Revolution

Qi Zhi (2010) has divided the CR in Inner Mongolia into two stages: the first “principal” stage (*zhuti*, May 1966–May 1969) and the “derived” stage (*paisheng*, June 1969 – October 1976). The first stage began from the Qianmen Hotel meeting and ended three years later in the issue of the “22 May Notice” (5.22 *pishi*), the removal of Teng Haiqing (滕海清, 1909–1997), and the partition of the IMAR territory<sup>179</sup>. The first stage of this periodization corresponds to the “contemporary understanding” of the CR that lasted until the Ninth Party Congress in the summer of 1969 and adding the derived stage extends the CR into the “official” length of over ten years, an interpretation adopted in 1981 by the 6<sup>th</sup> plenary session of the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the CPC in the *Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People’s Republic of China*<sup>180</sup>.

There is no specific date to measure the ending of the CR in Inner Mongolia in a broad sense, as some of the direct effects lasted long past 1976: In April 1978 a document issued by the CC led by Hua Guofeng (华国锋, 1921–2008) declared that the New Inner Mongolian People’s Party “did not exist in the first place and [the case] should be completely denied”, on 20 January 1979 the Inner Mongolia Party Committee announced in a radio broadcast that the “three great unjust cases”<sup>181</sup> (*san da yuan’an*) had been fabricated and the verdict on them overthrown, and finally on 1 July 1979 the territory lost in 1969 reverted back to the IMAR<sup>182</sup>. After 1978 amidst severe interethnic tension and dissatisfaction with the government, the “bourgeois liberalization” (*zichan jieji ziyoushua*) of China took the form of anti-Han chauvinism and demands for the protection of minzu rights in Inner Mongolia, culminating in large scale student demonstrations in late 1981<sup>183</sup>.

The following brief history of the Inner Mongolian CR starts from Beijing and the Qianmen Hotel meeting which marked the beginning of the Ulanhu era and the beginning of the CR the IMAR.

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<sup>179</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 21

<sup>180</sup> Paltemaa & Vuori 2012: 167 – 169.

<sup>181</sup> The three unjust cases of the Inner Mongolian CR refer to the cases of Ulanhu’s anti-Party Treason Clique (*Wulanfu fandang panguo jituan* 乌兰夫反党叛国集团), the IM February Countercurrent (*Neimenggu eryue niliu* 内蒙古二月逆流), and the New Neirendang (*Xin neirendang* 新内人党) (Qi Zhi 2010: 478). In the Editor’s Introduction of Woody (1993) Schoenhals has translated Ulanhu’s case as the “Ulanhu anti-party renegade clique”, but to emphasize the *panguo* (commit treason) content that resonates with the accusations of splitting the fatherland (*fenlie zuguo*), the translation with “treason” is used in this thesis.

<sup>182</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 478; Woody 1993: Editor’s Introduction;

<sup>183</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 540 – 557.

As this thesis studies the criticism against Ulanhu in documents produced in 1967, the CR history is introduced with an emphasis on the “principal” stage, as defined by Qi Zhi.

### 5.1 From Qianmen Hotel to Establishment of New Leadership

The Inner Mongolian CR was launched at the Qianmen Hotel meeting in Beijing in May/July 1966. The meeting, held partly concurrently with the Politburo enlarged session (*kuoda huiyi*)<sup>184</sup> that started the central leadership purges of the CR, was convened and presided over by the CPC Center’s North China Bureau’s (NCB) first secretary Li Xuefeng (李雪峰, 1907–2003) by the appointment of the Centre<sup>185</sup>. During the Qianmen Hotel meeting Ulanhu – who had already been criticized the previous year for “being soft on Mongol ‘class enemies’” and “disregarding central policies in general” – was criticized and his “errors” (*cuowu*) were exposed by the attendees. As a result of the meeting, Ulanhu was dismissed from his Party posts, he was accused of being *sanfan* (“three-anti”, opposing the Party, socialism, and Mao Zedong thought) and the “biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road” in the IMAR.<sup>186</sup> Ulanhu was not allowed to return to Inner Mongolia and he was eventually stripped of all his posts in the PLA and IMAR government<sup>187</sup>. He was “deprived his power and freedom” for the next six years, which he spent under house arrest in Beijing and Hunan, and did not return to the political stage of China until the Tenth National Congress in 1973.<sup>188</sup>

The CR spread to the IMAR seat of government, Hohhot, following developments in Beijing, as teachers and students answered the call to “sweep all ox demons and snake spirits”<sup>189</sup> by putting up their own big-character posters (*dazibao*) criticizing their leaders considered counterrevolutionary, revisionist, and not engaged in the CP like Chairman Mao wanted. The IMAR Party Committee sent work teams to take control of the situation in campuses and manage

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<sup>184</sup> The Politburo Enlarged Session started the leadership purges with the denunciation of Peng Dehuai, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Qingyi, and Yang Shangkun.

<sup>185</sup> The Qianmen Hotel meeting took place between 22.5. – 25.7. Among the 146 participants were Party Committee members of the IMAR, party secretaries from the local levels and leaders from the various IMAR PC organs. (Qi Zhi 2010: 105.)

<sup>186</sup> Woody 1993: Editor’s Introduction.

<sup>187</sup> The termination of some of Ulanhu’s leadership posts: 16 August, 1966: IMAR first secretary, NCB second secretary; 2 November 1966: commander and political commissar of the IM MR, the president of Inner Mongolia University (Tumen & Zhu 1995: 319 – 320). Ulanhu was “allowed to retain position as chairman of Inner Mongolia, in name only, until mid-1967” (the establishment of the IMAR RC in June 1967) (Bulag 2002: 226; Hao 1991: 562 – 563).

<sup>188</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 105; Woody 1993: Editor’s Introduction; Bulag 2002: 220 – 222.

<sup>189</sup> The call to “sweep all ox demons and snake spirits” (*hengsao yiqie niugui-sheshen*) was published on *People’s Daily* on 1 June 1966, and “China’s first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster”, originally put up by Nie Yuanzi (聂元梓) et al. at Peking University on 25 May, was published on *People’s Daily* on 2 June (Macfarquhar & Schoenhals 2006: 56; Qi Zhi 2010: 123).

the CR leading to confrontations with the power holders and their defenders and the “rebels” (*zaofanpai*).<sup>190</sup> Initially it was the “conservatives” (*baoshoupai*) who were able to curb the rebellious movement, but the situation was about to change following support from Beijing for the rebellious mass movement.

The *Decision Concerning the Great Cultural Revolution* (*Guanyu wuchan jieji wenhua dagemingde jue ding*, also “the Sixteen points”) approved by the eleventh plenum of the Eight CPC Central Committee on 8 August and published on *People’s Daily* (PD) the following day gave instructions on the execution of the CR. The Sixteen points sided with the mass organizations by exposing the problem of “persons in charge” (*dangquanpai*) organizing counter-attacks “against the masses who put up big-character posters against them”, and stated that, cases of severe crimes excluded, “no measures should be taken against” students engaged in the mass movement<sup>191</sup>. Starting from Hohhot and spreading to other regions, Inner Mongolia witnessed the emergence violence and the establishment of large-scale mass organizations to “seize power” (*duoquan*) and criticize the work teams, capitalists, and counterrevolutionaries. Mass organizations opposing each other emerged within educational institutions, enterprises, government organs, and the army. The divide between the mass organizations was affected by their attitude towards the authorities. For example, the first so called Red Guard (*hongweibing*) organization, *Mao Zedong Thought Red guards* (*Mao Zedong sixiang hongweibing*) was established in late August and soon evolved into *the Hohhot First Headquarters* (*Hu yi si*, First HQ), a collective conservative side head organization for organizations siding with the work groups in institutes of higher learning. In October the organization called *Dongzong*<sup>192</sup> left the First HQ due to disagreement over its support of the authorities. The Dongzong then became one of the founding and leading members of one of the most powerful rebel organizations of the IMAR, the *Hohhot Third Headquarters* (*Hu san si*, Third HQ). The rebel-conservative opposition was not about questioning the Qianmen Hotel meeting and Ulanhu’s denouncement, as both parties considered themselves following the correct line, but their attitude towards whether to oppose or support the radical mass movement and to go against or maintain the prevailing order.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 123 – 124.

<sup>191</sup> Schoenhals 1992: 38.

<sup>192</sup> InnerMongolia Teacher’s Institute East Is Red Combat Column (*Neimenggu shifan xueyuan dongfanghong zhandou zongdui* 内蒙古师院东方红战斗纵队), abbreviated Dongzong (东纵).

<sup>193</sup> Qi Zhi 2010. 125 – 133.

In January 1967 inspired by the power seizure in Shanghai<sup>194</sup> and Mao's calls to the rebels for seizure of power from the hands of "a handful of persons in the Party taking the capitalist road" published in PD and *Red Flag* magazine encouraged the rebels to direct action against the authorities. Following the example of Shanghai, rebels in Inner Mongolia tried to start power-seizures in newspapers. A failed power-seizure in the *Inner Mongolia Daily* press in early January 1967 that escalated into a violent conflict between rebels and conservatives and that ended with the Inner Mongolia MR taking control of the situation started a conflict between the military and the rebels.<sup>195</sup>

Between late January and early February tension between the conservatives and rebels continued to increase and the rebels accused the MR for siding with the conservatives and demanded the military to change the direction of their support. Violent conflicts continued to erupt within work units around Hohhot and the MR itself cleared its ranks from rebel-sympathizers, as it viewed the rebels as counter-revolutionaries trying to seize power from the MR. Starting on 1 February the rebel Red Guards gathered outside the MR south gate in Hohhot to demand the military's support. The demonstrations ended on the fifth day after a student demonstrator, Han Tong (韩桐), was shot by the deputy director of the MR Military Training Department, Liu Qing (柳青). Han Tong died soon after. The MR was prepared to eliminate the rebels who were expected to charge the MR, but thanks to some of the older demonstrators with military experience who saw through the plan, further bloodshed was avoided. Alerted by the "first shot by the PLA towards the students in the CR" the Center summoned the four conflict parties in Inner Mongolia, the IMAR PC, the IM Military Region, the Third HQ, and the Hohhot Red Guard Army<sup>196</sup> to Beijing in order to mediate and investigate the conflict.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> In Shanghai, January 1967, rebel forces led by Wang Hongwen "seized power" from the "counterrevolutionary revisionist" major Cao Diqu and the PC., establishing the Shanghai People's Commune (5 February 1967) that was later the same month renamed Shanghai revolutionary Committee. The power seizure started from rebel Red Guards first occupying the newspaper *Liberation Daily* (*Jiefang ribao*) in late November 1966. In early January the rebels (now led by Wang Hongwen and the Worker's Revolutionary Rebels General Headquarters) seized power in another newspaper, *Wenhui Daily* (*Wenhui bao*). (Macfarquhar & Schoenhals 2006: 162 – 169; Zhao 1996: 179, 185.)

<sup>195</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 165 – 167.

<sup>196</sup> The Red Guard Army (as referred to in English by Brown (2006: 41)), Chinese 红卫军, should not be confused with the rebellious red Guards, but, according to Qi Zhi (2010), was a conservative organization supported by the political elite of the IMAR and was in opposition to the rebel organization Thire HW and the IMAR PC members supportive of the rebels (130 – 131).

<sup>197</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 169 – 179, 181; Woody 1993: Editor's Introduction.

The four-party meetings (*si fang huiyi*)<sup>198</sup> directed by Premier Zhou Enlai with other leaders of the Center<sup>199</sup> was not a dialogue between the local representatives and the Party Center. The Center was the authority and the local representative were left with the role of “competing to claim the symbolic capital released when Ulanhu was felled” in negotiations where the Center “acted like a judge”<sup>200</sup>. During the meeting in Beijing, the conflict in Hohhot continued to intensify as the military and the conservatives started arresting members of rebel organizations and “seized back power” in companies and work units, the MR even deciding to establish a new leading group, the Hohhot Revolutionary Committee on 18 March. Strengthening the Center’s control and setting up a new leadership in Hohhot became the priority of the four-party meetings. As a result of the meetings, on 13 April 1967 the Centre issued the *Central Committee Decision on Handling Problems in Inner Mongolia (Zhonggong zhongyang guanyu chuli Neimeng wentde jue ding, the 13 April Decision)*<sup>201</sup>. The 13 April Decision marked a new turn in the Inner Mongolian CR. It criticized the MR for attacking the rebels and supporting the conservatives and “Ulanhu’s representatives” within the IMAR Party leadership. Representatives of the now vindicated mass organizations previously declared counterrevolutionary by the MR were to be taken into the new leadership organ, *Inner Mongolia Revolutionary Committee Preparatory Small Group (Neimenggu geweihui choubei xiaozu)* that was to be established under the new leader sent by Beijing, the Beijing MR deputy commander Teng Haiqing<sup>202</sup>. The 13 April Decision also sanctioned the public attack on Ulanhu, the “the power holder within the Party taking the capitalist road” that resulted in the first official direct attack on Ulanhu, the publication of the editorial “Strike Down Ulanhu” in *IM Daliy* on 29 August 1967. Teng became the leader of the most disastrous part of the CR in Inner Mongolia that culminated in the campaign to “dig out and purge the New Inner Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party”<sup>203, 204</sup>.

Teng’s arrival at Hohhot in April was not smooth. The military and conservative organization were revolting against the 13 April decision and propagating against the leaders. Both conservatives and rebels went to Beijing either to demand a new investigation on the IM

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<sup>198</sup> The meetings lasted a total of 70 days, from 2 February to 13 April, (Qi Zhi 2010: 195).

<sup>199</sup> After Zhou Enlai, Kang Sheng was the most active speaker from the Center’s leaders (Brown 2006: 37)

<sup>200</sup> Brown 2006: 41.

<sup>201</sup> Also referred to as *Hong ba tiao* (the red eight points) by Qi Zhi as the orders expressed in the document being organized under eight points (2010: 195, 211 – 212).

<sup>202</sup> Actually, the 13 April Decision named the Qinghai MR commander Liu Xianyuan (刘贤权) the new leader of the MR and the Preparatory Small Group, but he was not able to take up the assignment and the post was assigned to Teng Haiqing. (Qi Zhi 2010: 195, 211).

<sup>203</sup> As Liu Xiaoyuan has translated the campaign abbreviated *wa-su* (Liu 2006: xvii).

<sup>204</sup> Brown 2006: 43, 47; Qi Zhi 2010. 191 – 196; Woody 1993: Editor’s Introduction;

problem and correction on the Centre's stand on the matter, or asking for the Centre's support. The violence and disorder between the factions ended in late May when the Centre punished the MR for revolting and not implementing the 13 April Decision "by downgrading it to a military district (MD) subordinate to the Beijing MR"<sup>205</sup> With the military under the Beijing MR control new leading organs were finally set up under the leadership of Teng Haiqing, Wu Tao (吴涛, 1912–1983)<sup>206</sup>, and Gao Jinming (高锦明, 1917–2012)<sup>207</sup> starting from the establishment of the Preparatory Small Group on 18 June 1967. Their positions were strengthened by leading positions in both the *Inner Mongolia Revolutionary Committee (Neimenggu geming weiyuanhui)*, set up on 1 November 1967) and the *IMAR revolutionary Committee Nucleus (Neimenggu zizhiqu geming weiyuanhui hexin xiaozu)*, established on 13 February 1968).<sup>208</sup>

## 5.2 Discovering an Enemy

The latter half of 1967 was characterized by devoted study of Mao Zedong thought and criticism of Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Ulanhu, and their followers. The message of the official propaganda was unified and simplified, as local papers mainly published editorials from the "two newspapers and one magazine" (*liang bao yi kan*)<sup>209</sup>, Mao's directives, and content criticizing the aforementioned former leaders. At the same time study groups emerged around the country on all levels of society devoted to the study of Mao Zedong thought.<sup>210</sup>

While the early CR in Inner Mongolia is characterized by factional conflict between rebels and conservatives, attacks against Mongols emerged early on as Mongol cadres on lower levels of government around the IMAR became suspects of being members of *Ulanhu's black gang (Wulanhu heibang)*<sup>211</sup>. The ethnic-orientated violence increased after February 1967 and the weakening of government control until the late 1967 and early 1968 "discovery" of the "'counter-revolutionary' underground organization of ethnic separatists" led by Ulanhu, when

<sup>205</sup> Woody 1993: Editor's Introduction.

<sup>206</sup> Wu Tao, a Mongol from Shenyang (Fengtian/Mukden), Liaoning province. Excelled in criticizing Wulanhu at the Qianmen Hotel meeting. (Qi Zhi 2010: 134 – 135, 216 – 217.)

<sup>207</sup> Gao Jinming a Manchu from Liaoning province from a landowner family. University education. Political positions in Inner Mongolia since 1949, leading party positions in Baotou starting from 1955 and a secretary of the IM Party Committee Secretariat 1964 – 1966. Gao was active in promoting the idea of the IMPRP still existing underground before the beginning of the "excavation" of the splittist Mongol party. (Qi Zhi 2010: 217.)

<sup>208</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 206 – 210; 215.

<sup>209</sup> 两报一刊, i.e. *People's Daily*, *PLA Daily*, and *Red Flag*. (*Renmin ribao*, *Jiefangjun bao*, *Hongqi* 人民日报, 解放军报, 红旗).

<sup>210</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 217 – 220.

<sup>211</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 205 – 206.



“unearthing” of the members of Inner Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party became the main content of the Inner Mongolian CR<sup>212</sup>.

The development of the of the CR towards “unearthing and elimination” (*wa-su*)<sup>213</sup> becoming the main direction of the campaigns was a joint effort where the Center gave the general guidelines of the movement, the local activists, rebels, produced evidence and exposed traitors driven by the competition to gain legitimacy as the true radicals and executors of Mao Zedong’s strategies, and between them, the IMAR leadership had the responsibility to provide official legitimation and define targets of the campaigns.

In the autumn the denouncement campaigns targeted against Ulanhu et al. needed new content and the next enemy was to be found from the hints given by the Qianmen Hotel meeting and the Center. Inspired by warnings by Gao Jinming against the deep-rooted revisionism and splittism in Inner Mongolia and by Kang Sheng about the complex effects and devoted following Ulanhu had left behind, Teng Haiqing presented the new objective to “uproot and eliminate Ulanhu’s sinister line and pernicious influence”<sup>214</sup> in the founding meeting of the IMRC in early November. To define the target of the “uprooting and elimination”, Teng introduced the “three forces” (*san gu shili*) of Ulanhu. First there were the old core members of Ulanhu’s political establishment<sup>215</sup>; second were the reactionaries, consisting mainly of alleged spies of the Soviet Union and the MPR, Japan, GMD, and also the old elites (princes and other feudal upper classes)<sup>216</sup>., and the third force consisting of opportunists, dissident, and conspirators who had infiltrated the Party.<sup>217</sup>

*Capturing traitors and spies (jiu pantu、tewu)* encouraged by Mao already in early 1967 took off in Inner Mongolia during the latter half of 1967, as rebel organizations began to set up *liaison stations (lianluozhan)* for capturing different targets. This search for traitors and spies led to the discovery, or at least identification, of the peril within the Party ranks, as investigation committee of the case of Hafenga, vice chairman of the IMAR People’s Government and director

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<sup>212</sup> Woody 1993: Editor’s Introduction.

<sup>213</sup> The *wa-su* started from the unearthing (*wa*) and eliminating (*su*) of *Ulanhu’s sinister line and pernicious influence (wa Wulanfu heixian, su Wulanfu liudu)*, and after the “discovery” of the still active IMPRP, targeted the alleged members of this counter-revolutionary splittist party. A clear distinction of which campaigns can be considered part of the *wa-su* is difficult to define, as other nationwide campaigns, like “cleansing the class ranks” (*qingli jieji duiwu*) became extensions of the *wa-su* in Inner Mongolia (see e.g. Hao et al. 2006: 610 – 612).

<sup>214</sup> *Wa Wulanfu heixian, su Wulanfu liudu* 挖乌兰夫黑线，肃乌兰夫流毒， translation in Woody 1993: Editor’s Introduction.

<sup>215</sup> For example: Kuibi, Jiyatai, Buhe (Ulanhu’s son), i.e. cadres with close personal ties to Ulanhu.

<sup>216</sup> The most prominent figure of this group was Hafenga who had been a leading figure of the eastern Inner Mongolian autonomy movement before the establishment of the IMAR.

<sup>217</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 224 – 228; Woody 1993. Editor’s Introduction.

of the language committee (*yuwei*), found disturbing evidence on the IMPRP. They found out that it had been led by Hafenga and its members included Tegusi (特古斯, 1924), deputy director of the IMPC propaganda department. The investigators found out that the IMPRP had had connections with Outer Mongolia, GMD, and even American intelligence after 15 August 1945 (the announcement of Japan's surrender)<sup>218</sup>. This discovery made the members of the IMPRP, a reactionary organization with members from Manchukuo bureaucracy, feudal elite, Mongol traitors etc. the focus of the rebels' efforts to expose the perils within the leading organs.<sup>219</sup>

The first ones to draw a connection between the IMPRP past and the contemporary enemy within the leadership were two Mongols, Wulanbagan<sup>220</sup> and Erdunaola<sup>221</sup> who presented the *Concise Report on Ulanhu's Black Gang Covering up the Crimes of a Major Treasonous Clique* (*Wulanfu heibang baobi yi ge da panguo jituande jianyao baogao*) to the IMRC preparatory small group on 3 October 1967. The report exposed, without evidence, Hafenga's treasonous crimes, further members of the clique, and how the organization worked under the cover of legitimate government organs.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 230 – 231. As discussed in the part on IMAR pre-PRC history, the Eastern Mongolian government tried to unite Inner Mongolia with the MPR, and to gain official recognition of their autonomy from the GMD before joining the CPC:

<sup>219</sup> Ibid: 230 – 231.

<sup>220</sup> Wulanbagan (乌兰巴干, 1929–), born to a middle-peasant family in Jerim league that was soon made a part of Manchukuo, The verbally skillful Wulanbagan engaged in propaganda work for the CPC and was appointed editor in the Inner Mongolia newspaper press (*Neimenggu baoshe*) by its establishment in 1948. Took up writing while working at the IMPC Propaganda Department in 1956. At the height of his career Wulanbagan held many important positions in literary and arts circles in Inner Mongolia and his representative work "Uprising of the sinners" (*Caoyuan fenghuo*, 1959, English translation (excerpt) in *Chinese Literature* (No. 2, 1965, Foreign Language Press, Peking) had been translated to several languages. A part of Wulanbagan's success had been the skillful navigation of the different political campaigns, changing his views according to the current tide. In August 1966 he was captured as a member of the "black gang" (*heibang fenzi*) and later accused for glorifying Ulanhu and being of land lord back ground, which made him seek Teng Haiqing's protection against "capitalist roaders" in August 1967. (Qi Zhi 2010: 243 – 245; Tsai 1979: 319-320.)

<sup>221</sup> Erdunaola (E'erdun'ao'la 额尔敦敖拉, 1933), born in Hulunbei'er league. Entering the Inner Mongolia newspaper press without finished education at the age of 14, E'erdunao'la became a self-trained skilled writer and a party member, rising within the press hierarchy (Qi Zhi 2010: 246).

<sup>222</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 230 – 231. One example of the legitimate covers was the "Terminological committee of Inner and Outer Mongolia" (*Nei-Wai Menggu mingci shuyu weiyuanhui*) led by Hafeng'a during the 1956 reform of the Mongolian language. On the report the committee was said to have been IMPRP revisionist Mongol spy organization, a facade for treasonous activities led by Ulanhu and a side-branch of Ulaanbaatar.

The “myth” of the IMPRP still active underground was confirmed by the denouncement of Tegusi<sup>223</sup> and Wang Zaitian (王再天, 1907–2005)<sup>224</sup>, and started to spread around Inner Mongolia. Several already concluded cases and incidents not considered crimes before were now raked up and investigation groups were established to find out their connection to the Neirendang. Presented with ever increasing “evidence” of an underground IMPRP actually existing, Teng Haiqing needed encouragement to begin his all-out campaign to unearth and eliminate the members of the Neirendang. The encouragement from within the AR came from the Capture Ulanhu’s Treason Clique Liaison Station (Wulanbagan’s organization). From the Center, the IMAR leadership’s suspicions were confirmed by Kang Sheng, who instructed Teng et al. to start cleansing Ulanhu’s influence from the army and then proceed to agricultural and pastoral regions, and told Teng that the IMPRP was still active underground and one should not be afraid of capturing its members with “too wide a net” in the beginning<sup>225</sup>.

### 5.3 Purge of the Neirendang

The build-up towards the five-month “climax” period of the wa-su between December 1968 and April 1969<sup>226</sup>, described by Qi Zhi as the period of highest death and injury rate in Inner Mongolian history, was characterized by the mobilization of the *revolutionary masses* (*geming qunzhong*) to execute the wa-su campaign by the means of *dictatorship of the masses* (*qunzhong zhuanzheng*)<sup>227</sup> and the removal of critics and obstacles from the campaign through other campaigns launched from the center that became part of the wa-su in Inner Mongolia.

*Hohhot Dictatorship of the Masses Command Headquarters* (*Huhhehaote shi qunzhong zhuanzheng zhihuibu*) was established on 15 January 1968. During the next three months the masses executed several nighttime attacks in cooperation with the military to search property and class enemies, counter-revolutionaries, rightists, and members of Ulanhu’s and Hafenga’s

<sup>223</sup> The denouncement of Tegusi and the IMPC propaganda department was inspired by Jiang Qing’s call for a “thorough sweep of the literary circles from cunning enemies” distributed by the Center 13 November 1967 (Qi Zhi 2010: 232 – 233).

<sup>224</sup> Wang Zaitian, an Eastern Mongol, was the secretary in charge of the IMPC public security authorities (*gong jian fa*), a fact that made him an easy target due to holding a post in which he could be held responsible for enemies infiltrating the leading organs (Qi Zhi 2010: 233 – 235).

<sup>225</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 241 – 242. Kang Sheng’s answer to Teng and Li Shude’s (李树德) report for the Center on the situation in Inner Mongolia on 4 February 1968.

<sup>226</sup> Qi Zhi’s periodization of the wa-su campaign: 1) November 1967 – April 1968, “arousal” (兴起) 2) May – November 1968, deepening development and struggle with resisting forces 3) December 1968 – May 1969, “Climax” (高潮) (Qi Zhi 2010: 339).

<sup>227</sup> Dictatorship of the masses of Mass dictatorship (*qunzhong zhuanzheng*) was “the name for the legal authority that mass organizations assumed to arrest, imprison, and torture ordinary citizens, to search their homes, and to confiscate their personal belongings”, an under which “widespread persecution” during the CR mostly took place (Guo 2009: 178).

black gangs. Other regions followed suit and the campaign spread to all levels of organization. The dictatorship of the masses organizations were under the leadership of the local revolutionary committees and preparatory groups and the lead figures often came from Mao Zedong thought propaganda teams (*Mao Zedong sixiang xuanchuandui*). The organizations took over tasks of public security, prosecution, and court, taking people into custody, interrogating, and torturing them in order to make the Neirendang captives expose themselves and others<sup>228</sup>.

As for the "removal of obstacles" from the wa-su campaign, the campaigns launched at the Center to "cleanse the class ranks" and "anti-rightism" (*fanyou*) paved the way in Inner Mongolia towards its most disastrous phase. Cleansing the ranks, i.e. getting rid of the "bad persons" within the revolutionary ranks, lead to the dissolution of rebel organizations, as rebels "not revolutionary and holding back others" were discarded, and some of the conservatives who had been sidelined in early 1967 were accepted back to make revolution. The anti-rightist campaign on the other hand targeted organizations and individuals who tried to reverse the verdict on Ulanhu and the February Countercurrent (mostly Mongols), and rebels critical of the current IMAR leadership and the wa-su campaign (mostly Han). These campaigns cleared away the only force potentially able to resist the wa-su and let the "conservatives, opportunists, and radicals" unite behind the main campaign<sup>229</sup>.

The breakthrough that led to explosive expansion of the wa-su campaign came in late April 1968, when the investigation – more precisely, forced confessions – of the vice-president of the Inner Mongolia University, Batu (巴圖), and deputy director of the IMMR Political Department, Baoyinzhabu (鮑音扎佈, Boyin-jabu) led to confessions on the existence of a new IMPRP (Neirendang) and details and names on the rumored March 1963 IMPRP Congress in Jinan (in Wulanchabu league). The Center was informed about the findings of the special case group on the IMPRP and its connection to Ulanhu as his "secret troupe" (*an banzi*). The IMRC Nucleus set a special case group to handle the Neirendang case and the evidence pouring from local levels on members of the Neirendang collected through interrogations and torture. The Third enlarged session of the IMRC passed the *Report on Opinions on Handling the IMPRP* that was distributed to the whole of IMAR. According to the report, the "counter revolutionary organization" that was supposed to be dissolved by the establishment of the IMAG (1 May 1967) had continued its

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<sup>228</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 290 – 296, 304. It should be mentioned, that people taken in custody were not only alleged IMPRP members, but also "normal" and political offenders, members of "five black categories" (landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, rightists) offenders etc. For a description on the conditions in "dictatorship of the masses" jails, see Qi Zhi 2010: 297 – 304. Qi Zhi himself spent 100 days "behind bars" in Salaqi (薩拉齊), Turned Right banner between October 1968 and January 1969.

<sup>229</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 266 – 270, 281.

counter-revolutionary activities underground under Ulanhu's protection in cooperation with the MPR<sup>230</sup>. The report was a message to all Inner Mongolia to start an all-out purge of the Neirendang.<sup>231</sup>

#### 5.4 "Climax"

In late September 1968 in the middle of the rapid growth of the wa-su campaign, partly due to the Centre's instructions and partly due to internal conflicts within the IMRC, Gao Jinming declared the wa-su victorious and called for an alleviation of the campaign in order not to exaggerate enmity and erroneously attack the masses. The question on the validity of the wa-su campaign and rumors about Teng Haiqing being replaced raised and "anti-wa-su" (*fan wa-su*) tide in Inner Mongolia as victims and families of victims of anti-rightist and anti-Neirendang activities took to the streets to demonstrate against Teng and to demand justice<sup>232</sup>. For Teng the wa-su was not over and he attacked Gao as the man behind the anti-Teng and anti-wa-su "undercurrent" (*anliu*). At the Fourth expanded session of the IMRC (3-19 November 1968) Teng denounced Gao for having an "anti-mao Zedong thought revisionist" stance since long and for protecting Ulanhu's followers and resisting the wa-su. Teng declared the wa-su far from over, and that "rightist inclination" (*youqing*) was widespread. The most dangerous enemies were still hidden despite all the ones already unearthed. Along with Gao, Teng took down many other leaders and framed the IMRC a plan to execute a coup. Teng became the single highest authority in Inner Mongolia pacing himself as the leader of a new *Leadership Group for Thorough Unearthing of the IMPRP* (*Shenwa "Neirendang" lingdao xiaozu*). Gao's denouncement as rightist instigated local factional strives where "small Gaos" were purged along with IMPRP members, taking Inner Mongolia deeper into chaos.<sup>233</sup>

The climax period took the wa-su campaign deeper and further as the RC issued a document ordering the "celansing of ranks" to be extended to the countryside and pastoral regions. In the unearthing of hidden and disguised enemies, especially the "two-faced counter-revolutionaries" (*fangeming liangmianpai*) who had infiltrated the Party organization, the IMPRP was the main

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<sup>230</sup> The report devided the IMPRP operations into three periods of different qualities: 1925 – 1936 "bourgeois nationalist pary"; 1945 – 1947 "local nationalist party"; May 1945 onwards "counter-revolutionary organization". In theory the members of the first two periods were not to be regarded as reactionaries, but in reality any "member" could be considered a member o the "new" party and handled accordingly. (Qi Zhi 2010: 312 – 314.)

<sup>231</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 312 – 314.

<sup>232</sup> At the time Teng and Wu Tao were in Beijing for the 12th plenum of teh 8th Central Committee (13–31 Oct. 1968), where Liu Shaoqi was expelled from the Party and anti-rightism was declared the main direction of the CR (Qi Zhi 2010: 327 – 328).

<sup>233</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 323 – 338; 340 – 341.

target, but not the only one, as alleged agents of the MPR, the GMD, and Japan, capitalists and class enemies were "cleansed". By late December the IMPRP had already become an "omnipresent" (*wu suo bu zai*) anti-Party army of several million members. As the purge of cadres had created an urgent need of Party personnel, Teng had to ask for reinforcement cadres from Beijing. According to Teng's own statistics<sup>234</sup>, the daily "excavation rate" of enemies had grown tenfold during the period between November 1968–January 1969 compared to the nine month period since the beginning of wa-su (November 1967 – October 1968).<sup>235</sup>

In March 1969 the people of Inner Mongolia started overt resistance against the wa-su campaign. At the Teacher's Institute the rebel leader and RC vice director Qin Weixian (秦維憲) launched criticism towards Teng Haiqing and organized the escape of military who had been framed Neirendang members. At the same time victims and families of victims of the IMPRP purge started to flood to Beijing to report injustices.<sup>236</sup>

The Ninth National Congress (124 April 1969) became an opportunity for Mao and the Proletarian Headquarters to address the problem of Inner Mongolian people flooding to Beijing. During the congress Lin Biao was announced Mao's successor and Mao came up with "implementing all policies" (*luoshi gexiang zhengce*) and the need to "expand the scale of education and reduce the scale of attack" (*kuoda jiaoyumian, suoxiao dajimian*). Mao stated that there had been "excesses" (*kuodahua*) in the Inner Mongolian cleansing of class ranks. Teng Haiqing et al. realized the need to change their approach in Inner Mongolia. Implementing policies, education, and recognition of mistakes became the key concepts for proceeding with the CR. The primary mission after May was to "strengthen unity, correct mistakes, summarize experiences, implement policies, stabilize the situation, and face the enemy together" expressed in the Center's 22 May Directive (5.22 *pishi*). The directive marked the end of the "principal stage" of the Inner Mongolian CR.<sup>237</sup>

## 5.5 After the Wa-su Campaign

The 22 May Directive meant a return to a state of factional conflict in Inner Mongolia. On the other hand it approved the main direction of the wa-su and defined its problem as merely "excess" on one hand, but at the same time allowed criticism of Teng and emphasized the

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<sup>234</sup> According to Teng, the total number of enemies unearthed between November 1967 – October 1968 was 80 000, and between November 1968 – January 1969 over 60 000 (Qi Zhi 2010: 348).

<sup>235</sup> Ibid: 341 – 342; 348.

<sup>236</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 361.

<sup>237</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 384 – 388; 390, 394.

“implementation of policies”<sup>238</sup>, giving both critics and defenders of Teng and the wa-su something to draw support from.<sup>239</sup> The message of the directive and orders to implement policies were often ignored and in many places the search for Neirendang members continued. The IMRC had lost its ability to work properly as the leaders were occupied by people lodging complaints and appeals (*shagnfang shanggao*) and sometimes cadres were even afraid of going to work due to angry people waiting for them to express their dissatisfaction.<sup>240</sup>

The factional struggles were accompanied by attacks against people and property, robbing banks and stealing arms. Local armed forces emerged. At the same time, the masses of people heading for Beijing to lodge complaints and appeals could not be stopped despite a prohibition for going to Beijing set on 8 August 1969. The Center’s response to the chaos in Inner Mongolia was “dismembering” (*zhijie*) of its territory in July 1969. About two thirds of the IMAR territory was placed under the surrounding provinces and one autonomous region (Ningxia) (see Map ?)<sup>241</sup>. The decision was based on the need to stabilize the Inner Mongolian situation and increase war preparations. On one hand it was meant to secure the “anti-revisionist frontline” (*fanxiu qianxian*) against the Soviet Union and the MPR, and on the other hand slicing the expansive territory into smaller units administered by different provinces had the effect of cutting the regions off each other to avoid a united resistance to emerge against the Center<sup>242</sup>. To further control the chaotic situation in (what was left of) Inner Mongolia, on 19 December 1969 the Center ordered the IMAR under military control under the Beijing MR and the new administrative unit, the *Frontline Command* (*qianxian zhihuisuo*) consisting of Beijing MR senior officers led by commander of the Beijing MR, Zheng Weishan (郑维山, 1915–2000). This was the end of Teng Haiqing’s mission in Inner Mongolia. The military control of the IMAR lasted

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<sup>238</sup> In practice, the “implementation of policies” (*luoshi zhengce*) meant rehabilitation of falsely accused offenders and compensations to victims and their families.

<sup>239</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 407.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid: 408 – 409.

<sup>241</sup> The decision placed the Hulunbei’er league under Heilongjiang province (Except for the Tuquan banner and Ke(erqin) Right banner that were merged into Baicheng “special region” of Jilin province), Zhelimu league under Jilin province, Zhaowuda league under Liaoning province, the Ejina banner and Alashan Right banner of Bayannao’er league under Gansu province, and the Alashan Left banner of Bayannao’er league under Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. The changes included the placement of the local military sub-districts under the surrounding MDs. (Qi Zhi 2010: 418)

<sup>242</sup> This divide-and-rule pattern seems to repeat itself in the Inner Mongolian history: the Qing banner system prevented inter-banner migration and the emergence of united political force in Inner Mongolia; Inner Mongolia; Chinese provinces were established in Inner Mongolia in 1928, during ROC-period; also the Japanese Khinggan policy altered between a united and divided administration of the Khinggan provinces (see Atwood 1992). The PRC period of Inner of Inner Mongolia started from a period of uniting the different parts, as the IMAR reached its present-day (and pre-CR) frontiers by 1956, but the years 1969/1979 represent another period of divided Inner Mongolia.

from late-December 1969 to mid-May 1971, although it took until the latter half of 1972 until the forces were completely withdrawn.<sup>243</sup>

The wa-su disaster and the subsequent oppression during the military control period led to counter-reactions. Ulanhu returned to the CC in the Tenth National Congress in 1973 with the help of Zhou Enlai. This marked the denial of the Qianmen Hotel meeting results and the wa-su campaign, at this point as a part of the rhetoric of Lin Biao's political coup (*zhengbian*). It also implied the denial of the existence of the Neirendang. In Inner Mongolia criticism of Han chauvinism emerged as a form of the campaign to *Criticize Lin and Criticize Confucius* (*pi Lin pi Kong*)<sup>244</sup>.

The Neirendang case was finally officially declined on 20 April 1978 in the report *Opinions on Further Solution of the Problem of Unearthing the 'New IMPRP'* approved by the CPC chairman Hua Guofeng. The report stated the "so called New IMPRP simply did not exist and should be completely denied"<sup>245</sup>. Lin Biao and the Gang of Four were defined as the roots of the disaster (*huogen*) and the main responsibility was on the shoulders of the IMRC Nucleus. The report was handed to the representatives of IMAR and the surrounding provinces as the *20 April Directive* (4.20 *pishi*) and based on the directive, the implementation of policy and rectification of the "three great unjust cases" (*san da yuanan*), i.e. the cases of Ulanhu's anti-Party treasonous group, the February counter-current<sup>246</sup>, and the Neirendang, were to be started. However, the Centre's guidelines to the IMAR PC on handling offenders followed Deng Xiaoping's principle of "rather rough than detailed"<sup>247</sup> and the Centre was to handle the Centre's leaders, meaning that the cases of highest leaders like Teng Haiqing were outside the IMAR reach. The last scene of the IM CR investigations was the trial of Wulanbagan in October 1987 (after 9 years in custody), where he was sentenced for 15 years for the "crime of framing" (*wuxianzu*), i.e. fabricating the

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<sup>243</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 408 – 419; 430 – 432, 440.

<sup>244</sup> Criticized Lin and Criticize Confucius "was a political and ideological campaign that Mao Zedong launched in 1974 supposedly for a dual purpose: first, to link Lin Biao's ideology to what Mao saw as China's moralistic, backward-looking, and reactionary legacy, namely Confucianism; second, to defend the Cultural Revolution against the kind of criticism that in Mao's view paralleled the Confucian resistance to essentially Legalist social transformations in the early "feudal" period of Chinese history." (Guo et al. 2009: 8889.

<sup>245</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 478.

<sup>246</sup> The First case refers to the denouncement of Ulanhu and other IMAR cadres as a "anti-Party treasonous group" at the Qianmen Hotel meeting. The February Countercurrent in the case of Inner Mongolia refers to February - May, 1967, the suppression of rebels by the IMAR MR leaders, the shooting of Han Tong, resisting the Center, persecution of people with differing views, that was considered by the Center a anti-Party group case. Other connected cases were also rectified. (Qi Zhi 2010: 478.)

<sup>247</sup> Qi Zhi 2010:479. "Rather rough than detailed, rather lenient than petty" (宜粗不宜細，宜寬不宜窄).



Neirendang case, leaving many people demanding the punishment of the actual leaders of the wa-su.<sup>248</sup>

The official figures from 1980 regarding the victims of the purge of the Neirendang are: a total of 346,220 people persecuted, of which 16,222 dead in interrogations by torture (*xingxun*) and armed struggles (*xingxun wudou*), and 87,188 severely disabled (*yanzhong shangcan*). The Neirendang case amounts to approximately 60% of the deaths in the Inner Mongolian CR, again, according to official statistics.<sup>249</sup>

A prominent example of the public demonstrations “of the lingering wounds of the Cultural Revolution” were the Mongolian students strikes of late 1981 and early 1982.<sup>250</sup> The demonstrations started in the autumn of 1981 came as a reaction to Center’s prohibition<sup>251</sup> on obstructing Han migration to Inner Mongolia, which was seen as a threat to the Mongols’ political power and IMAR authority. In September Mongol students demanding punishment of “the murdered Teng Haiqing” and protection of nationality rights took to the streets of Hohhot. After boycott of classes (*bake*) by Mongol students and a delegation sent to Beijing that even resorted to hunger strike as a negotiation tactic, the movement ended in the Centre giving a notice on continuing classes thus stopping the class boycott and avoiding the student movement to be considered an offence of resisting the Center and being violently suppressed<sup>252</sup>. Students were not punished for the demonstrations but school presidents were transferred to other duties and the government began a purge of the officials supportive of the students of sympathetic to their goals.<sup>253</sup>

According to Sneath (1994), and one would could claim that many researchers agree with this view, one of the most important results of “the attack on Mongolian

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<sup>248</sup> Ibid: 478 – 479, 497 – 498, 522.

<sup>249</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 23. The total figures of dead and disabled in the Inner Mongolian CR are 27,900 and 120,000 respectively. These figures are sometimes quoted (erroneously, according to Qi Zhi) as the figure for Neirendang case victims (e.g. Yang 2014, see also Qi Zhi 2010: 23). The Mongol population of Inner Mongolia in 1965 was about 1.5 million, which means, that even by taking into account the fact that there were some Han Chinese persecuted as part of the Neirendang case, still perhaps about 1% of Mongols were killed during the purge of the Neirendang only. For a more detailed discussion on the figures and their reliability, see Qi Zhi (2010: 23). A Map in Yang (2014) presents a regional distribution of “Mongols who suffered maltreatment” (*bei nüedaide Mengguren*) based on “very incomplete materials” (*feichang bu wanchengde ziliao*) (4041).

<sup>250</sup> Jankowiak 1988: 284.

<sup>251</sup> The “Article 28”, “a long range plan for the development of Inner Mongolia (Jankowiak 1988: 279), For the content of the article, see Qi Zhi 2010: 533 – 534..

<sup>252</sup> There’s no mention of a hunger strike as a means of negotiating a way out for the student delegation in Jankowiak (1988), but is based on an interview with one of the members of the delegation by Qi Zhi (2010: 556)

<sup>253</sup> Jankowiak 1988: 286; Qi Zhi 2010: 540 -. 557.

nationalism, customs and religion, and any remnant of pre-revolutionary thinking" during the CR was "the sharpening of ethnic conflict". Mongols becoming victims or predominantly Han-organized suffering created distrust and even hatred "of the Chinese on the part of many Mongols".<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> Sneath 1994: 429.

## 6. Ulanhu's Crimes Against National Unity

This chapter will discuss the primary source material of the thesis, content of eleven compilations of quotations from Ulanhu's speeches and writings that were used to denounce Ulanhu and expose his "poisonous" effect to Inner Mongolia. The documents were produced by rebel organizations, eight of them being dated between September – November 1967. The first document is dated June 1967, the last one August 1941, and there is one without a date on it. The quotations from Ulanhu are accompanied by comments by the editors that point out the alleged crimes and errors Ulanhu is being criticized of – often supported by famous citations from Mao and sometimes by other authoritative figures like Lenin. The crime and errors of Ulanhu will be discussed divided in subchapters roughly based on the different types of criticism targeted at Ulanhu.

First, it is necessary to discuss the early authoritative document that lists and explains why Ulanhu was to be remove from the IAMR leadership, the *Report Considering the Problem of Ulanhu's Errors*<sup>255</sup> (*Guanyu Wulanfu cuowu wenti de baogao*, the Qianmen Hotel Report), produced by the North China Bureau as a result of the Qianmen Hotel meetings in late July 1966 and was approved for distribution by the Party Center on 27 January the next year.<sup>256</sup> The aim is to understand to what extent the content in the rebels' documents was already expressed after the Qianmen Hotel meeting and, conversely, what kind of new crimes and errors come up in the rebel's document. A rough translation of the report is provided in appendix (9.6).

### 6.1 The Report Considering the Problem of Ulanhu's Errors

The report – based on the Qianmen Hotel meetings and information gathered from the government organs and institutes of higher education in the IMAR while the meetings took place – defines Ulanhu as an element of the *three-anti* (*san fan fenzi*), as often seen important figures denounced during the CR: "opposing the Party, socialism, and Mao Zedong thought"<sup>257</sup>. He is accused of "destroying state unity", "national splittism aiming for the establishment of an independent kingdom", and revisionism. Ulanhu is

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<sup>255</sup> Used as a source here is the report approved for distribution that had been through "appropriate condensing" and can be read in Qi Zhi 2010 (153 – 164).

<sup>256</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 119.

<sup>257</sup> *Fan dang, fan shehui zhuyi, fan Mao Zedong sixiang* 反党、反社会主义、反毛泽东思想.

characterized as the “biggest power-holding capitalist roader within the IMAR Party organization” and “a time bomb hiding within the Party”.<sup>258</sup>

After the general introduction, the report continues by specifying Ulanhu’s five major errors and the evidence against him. The five errors are discussed in order of appearance in the report.

#### 1. Opposing Mao Zedong thought, raising another flag, setting up a system of his own

Of major importance in the attack against Ulanhu was his alleged opposition to Mao Zedong in ideology and practice – especially in distorting the notion of the true nature of the nationality problem. The report traces the evidence of this problem back to August 1963 when in “a statement of support to the American blacks’ righteous struggle against racial discrimination by American imperialists”<sup>259</sup> Mao Zedong stated that racial struggle, in the final analysis, is an issue of class struggle. This notion, reflected on Chinese national minority discourse, formed a basis for the accusations of Ulanhu’s ideological deviance from the correct Mao Zedong line. During the CR, the absolute true nature of the nationality problem was class struggle and Ulanhu was accused of turning this basic setting upside down by downplaying class struggle and using the nationality problem to oppose Mao Zedong thought.<sup>260</sup>

Continuing on the topic, the report turns to criticize Ulanhu for ignoring Mao Zedong’s instructions on minority work during the March 1958 Chengdu work conference where Mao stressed the importance of ideology in government instead of where one comes from and which nationality one belongs to. Ulanhu was accused for not only ignoring these instructions but opposing the Chairman by emphasizing the importance of *minoritizing (minzuhua)* the leadership organs.<sup>261</sup>

After criticism for distorting and ignoring the correct instructions to the handling of the nationality problem Ulanhu is accused of establishing his own ideology, an “Ulanhu thought” (*Wulanfu sixiang*). By promoting his own ideas concerning the nationality problem and by introducing his *Three Foundations (san ge jichu)*<sup>262</sup> to promote the unity

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<sup>258</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 154.

<sup>259</sup> *Zhichi Meiguo heiren fandui diguo zhuyi zhongzu qishide zhengyi douzhengde shengming*

<sup>260</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 154 – 155.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

<sup>262</sup> According to the report, during the enlarged session of the third plenum of the IMAR second party committee (*Neimenggu zizhiqu dangwei er jie san ci quanwei kuoda huiyi*) Ulanhu introduced the idea of strengthening and

of the nation and between the nationalities. Ulanhu is criticized of ignoring the universal class struggle, socialism, and communism, placing him on the side of *bourgeois nationalism* (*zichan jieji minzu zhuyi*).<sup>263</sup>

## 2. Opposing class struggle and socialist revolution

Ulanhu's opposition to class struggle and the Socialist revolution are here presented as the essential problem in his opposition to Mao Zedong thought. By promoting peaceful transition (as opposed to class struggle) in pastoral regions, peaceful coexistence with minority and religious upper class, and peaceful competition with revisionist (Outer) Mongolia, he had been replacing class struggle with the nationality problem. By opposing *Han chauvinism* (*da hanzu zhuyi*) and placing it as a top priority among the issues to be tackled in the IMAR Ulanhu had understated and even replaced the most important struggles – the ones between socialism and capitalism, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.<sup>264</sup>

One concrete example of Ulanhu's misguided ideas and policies is his "opposition to the socialist revolution in pastoral regions and promotion of peaceful transition" in order to avoid causing harm to production. The report criticizes Ulanhu's notions of a need for lenient treatment for minority upper class and accuses him of embellishing the success in incorporating minority elite to the new system. The lenient treatment included for example the policy of Three Nos (*san bu*) in pastoral regions during the land reform that saved many Mongols from losing cattle and property and from being labelled as herdlords.<sup>265</sup>

Adding an international flavor to the accusations, the report also criticizes Ulanhu's view of the relationship with *revisionist Mongolia* (*mengxiu*, meaning the MPR) being one of economical rivalry and not of political struggle, thus being unable to instill patriotism (towards China) and hatred towards the MPR especially in border regions.<sup>266</sup>

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developing the three foundations of minzu tuanjie and the unity of the motherland: politics, economy, and culture (Qi Zhi 2010: 155 – 156).

<sup>263</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 155 – 156.

<sup>264</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 156 – 157.

<sup>265</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 157; Bulag 2002: 120.

<sup>266</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 158.

### 3. Bowing and kneeling towards revisionism<sup>267</sup>

While being accused of serving the Mongol elite within the country's borders, internationally Ulanhu had allegedly yielded under revisionist pressure, courting the MPR and opposing Han-chauvinism when standing firm against the revisionists would have been most crucial. In addition to promotion of the Cyrillic script to be used in writing Mongolian in Inner Mongolia in the mid 1950's to unify the writing system with that of the MPR, other examples of Ulanhu serving the MPR and the revisionist camp include trivial anecdotes that supposedly show his submissive attitude towards the revisionists in international interactions, one example being celebration of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the MPR and the 14<sup>th</sup> congress of the Mongolian People's Party in July, 1961, where as head of the Chinese delegation he was the first to stand up two times during the speech of the representative of the delegation of Tito's Yugoslavia (not an ally of the PRC during the Sino-Soviet split), thus "isolating the Albanian representative" (Albania being an ally of the PRC).<sup>268</sup>

### 4. Advocating national splittism and setting up an independent kingdom based on the 1935 Declaration<sup>269</sup>

While being accused of serving the Mongol elite within the country's borders, internationally Ulanhu had allegedly yielded under revisionist pressure, courting the MPR and opposing Han-chauvinism when standing firm against the revisionists would have been most crucial. In addition to promotion of the Cyrillic script to be used in writing Mongolian in Inner Mongolia in the mid 1950's to unify the writing system with that of the MPR, other examples of Ulanhu serving the MPR and the revisionist camp include trivial anecdotes that supposedly show his submissive attitude towards the revisionists in international interactions, one example being celebration of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the MPR and the 14<sup>th</sup> congress of the Mongolian People's Party in July,

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<sup>267</sup> Bowing and kneeling, (*beigong-quxi*), meaning 'to curry favour with', 'to be servile'.

<sup>268</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 158.

<sup>269</sup> *Declaration of the Chinese Soviet Central Government to the people of Inner Mongolia* (*Zhonghua suweiya zhongyang zhengfu dui Neimenggu renmin de xuanyan*, abbr. *san-wu xuanyan*) can be read in whole in Qi Zhi 2010 (100 – 102). The Declaration signed by Mao Zedong, the Chairman of the Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic, is here said to have been written by "dogmatists [*jiaotiao zhuyizhe*] within the party" wrongly acting in Chairman Mao's name (ibid. 159).

1961, where as head of the Chinese delegation he was the first to stand up two times during the speech of the representative of the delegation of Tito's Yugoslavia (not an ally of the PRC during the Sino-Soviet split), thus "isolating the Albanian representative" (Albania being an ally of the PRC).<sup>270</sup>

#### 4. Advocating national splittism and setting up an independent kingdom based on the 1935 Declaration<sup>271</sup>

Perhaps one of the most concrete cases of national splittism was the utilization of the 1935 *Declaration of the Chinese Soviet Central Government to the People of Inner Mongolia* (the 1935 Declaration) to serve the alleged purpose of splitting the nation. The 1935 Declaration promised the Inner Mongolian people right to govern and to "solve all internal issues" themselves, and forbade anyone to violently interfere heir living habits, religious practices etc. It also promised the people of Inner Mongolia the right to organize themselves and decide whether to form a federation with other nations of to become independent. The report accuses Ulanhu of using this outdated and invalid declaration to fight Han-chauvinism and to establish his own kingdom when he should have been fighting local nationalism instead.<sup>272</sup>

Continuing to the domain of psychology, the report finds the fundamental cause for Inner Mongolian splittism in Ulanhu's strong desire for leadership. He is characterized as a self-proclaimed leader and nationality expert who is unable to take criticism and is desperately trying to build up his authority, even placing himself on the same level with Mao Zedong in Inner Mongolia. He is also criticized for unwillingness to implement policies that he does not agree with and for ignoring directives from the Center, thus disregarding the principle of democratic centralism.<sup>273</sup>

#### 5. Placing trusted follower to key positions and seizing leadership

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<sup>270</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 158.

<sup>271</sup> *Declaration of the Chinese Soviet Central Government to the people of Inner Mongolia* (*Zhonghua suweiya zhongyang zhengfu dui Neimenggu reninde xduanyan* abbr. San wu xuanyan) can be read in whole in Qi Zhi 2010 (100 – 102). The Declaration signed by Mao Zedong, the Chairman of the Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic, is here said to have been written by "dogmatists within the party" wrongly acting in Chairman Mao's name (ibid. 159).

<sup>272</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 159.

<sup>273</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 159 – 160.

Lastly, the report brings out Ulanhu's political moves in the course of a year before the Qianmen-hotel meetings. He is criticized for deliberately steering cadres to a road of factionalism (*zongpai zhuyi*) by favoring trusted followers (*qinxin*) who execute his revisionist, anti-Han-chauvinist, and splittist ideas. He is also accused of favoring the rightists within the Mongol cadres and the ones supporting his ideas within the different factions of Mongol cadres. On the other hand, he is criticized for discriminating against and attacking the ones "adhering to Party principles". The process of seizing Party and government leadership is said to have started in the latter half of 1965, one of the major moves being the establishment of a 13-member *Surrogate Standing Committee* (*daili changwei*) to replace the CPC IMAR Standing Committee in order to implement Ulanhu's splittist policies in January 1966<sup>274</sup>. The report lists additional cases of Ulanhu replacing leaders in the IMAR and local government levels with his own followers.<sup>275</sup>

With respect to the question of nationality politics, the last of the points of criticism of power seizure in the IMAR brings out the "nationalized" conflict within the leadership of the IMAR. Ulanhu is accused of attacking the leading Chinese cadres trying to clear away obstacles to advocating national splittism. The report highlights Ulanhu's attack against the Chinese Party Committee Secretaries Wang Duo (王铎 1917–1997), Quan Xingyuan (权星垣 1916–2015), and Gao Jinmin (高锦明 1917–2012) during a Surrogate Committee meeting in April 1966, accusing them of not being up to their tasks. Ulanhu's followers were allegedly spreading rumors of these secretaries and some other leading cadres being "anti-Ulanhu". Preparations for a "palace coup" (*gongting zhengbian*) are said to have continued until the NCB meeting in late April where Ulanhu's intentions were finally discovered and criticized accordingly. Right after that Ulanhu was summoned by the Central Committee to take part in the Politburo enlarged session in May 1966 in Beijing, thus preventing Ulanhu from carrying out his plans.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Ulanhu's explanation for setting up the Surrogate Standing Committee recorded in a biography published in 2007 was the need to promote vigorous and able cadre to lead the IMAR by circumventing the established practice of promotion that prevented the removal of once-promoted cadres and replacing them with new blood (Wang et al. 2007: 509).

<sup>275</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 161 - 162.

<sup>276</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 162 – 162.



The report concludes by once more describing Ulanhu's personality that explains his political behavior. Despite having been a member of the Communist Party for over 40 years he has not been able to change his capitalist stand point inherited from his landowning home and capitalist education. With his bourgeois nationalism and selfish ambitiousness he has betrayed the trust of the Party Center and Chairman Mao as the leader of a strategically vital border region. Lastly, the report states that despite everything, the NCB is still confident that "more than 95% of the cadres and masses of Inner Mongolia are revolutionary and believe in the Centre and Chairman Mao", and expression of trust – regardless of its sincerity – that would soon be lost.<sup>277</sup>

## 6.2. Rebels Exposing Ulanhu's Crimes – Compilations of and Notes on Ulanhu's Poisonous Speeches

Moving from the Qianmen Hotel a year forward to the summer of 1967 when the primary source material was produced, Inner Mongolia had been through a lot. The conflict between "rebels" and "conservatives" had occupied the CR enthusiasts during late 1966 and early 1967, but Centre's intervention in the conflict and the 13 April Decision turned the focus on a concentrated attack on Ulanhu and his representatives among the cadres, and brought in a new leader, Teng Haiqing, from Beijing.

In general, the tone of the period starting from mid-1967 was *great study* (*da xue*), *great criticism* (*da pipan*), and *great alliance* (*da lianhe*). Great study meant the tireless study of Chairman Mao's works everywhere in study classes (*xuexiban*) set up for this purpose. Great criticism was criticism towards Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Ulanhu and his "sworn followers" (*sidang*). Great alliance meant unifying the mass organizations and to form unity between the rebels and the cadres, which then led to the *three-in-one* (*sanjiehe*) combination in the Revolutionary Committee<sup>278</sup>. The great alliance was promoted through propaganda in the IM Daily and local papers in a unified voice, that reprinted materials from the two newspapers and one magazine, and editorials and reports denouncing targets like *Ulanhu's anti-party clique* (*Wulanfu fandan jituan*).<sup>279</sup> attack This was the general atmosphere where the studied documents by the rebels denouncing Ulanhu were produced. The secondary source materials give also some details about the period when the studied materials were produced.

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<sup>277</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 163.

<sup>278</sup> The Revolutionary Committees were to be established based on the principle of three-in-one, having members from among the leadership cadres, the military, and the masses.

<sup>279</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 217 – 219; Guo 2009: 321.

The primary source material by the rebels fall under the category of "unofficial" materials or attack on Ulanhu as defined by Brown (2006). The attack on Ulanhu in 1967-68 was "conducted through two types of material", the "official" attack being a "series of articles and items in the IM Daily" representing "the public attack on Ulanhu and his power base"; and the unofficial attack consisting of varied material produced by "various groups competing with each other"<sup>280</sup>. According to Brown, the official material prioritized the "ideological factor" in criticism of Ulanhu, his opposition to the Centre's instructions on class and class struggle. The Unofficial material were "fiercer, and conveyed by more aggressive language", and included sub-genres: collections of Ulanhu's "black sayings" "with editorial comment and notation"; prose narratives of chronologies of Ulanhu's "black counter-revolutionary deeds"; and ideological attack "presented through analytical discussion of the ideological heresies attributed to" Ulanhu<sup>281</sup>.

The "rebellious group publications with limited audience" attacked Ulanhu before the official attack, starting in June 1967, whereas the official attack was launched with the naming of Ulanhu on 29 August 1967 in an IM Daily editorial branding him "the key representative in the IMAR taking the capitalist, revisionist road"<sup>282</sup>. Despite the official attack against Ulanhu by name did not start until the editorial in IM Daily on 29 August 1967, the target was already well-known. Qi Zhi (2010) cites an article in IM Daily from 24 August 1967 that praised the "revolutionary great criticism big-character posters lately appearing like bamboo shoots after spring rain [*ru yuhou chunsun*] by the streets of Hohhot" denouncing China's Khrushchev (Liu Shaoqi) and the *reigning prince* (*dangdai wangye*, i.e. Ulanhu) of Inner Mongolia.<sup>283</sup>

The rebels' documents studied here could probably be seen as having the task of "preparing the audience" for the open attack on Ulanhu. The "need to prepare the audience" was something that according to Brown (2006) was considered in the "min-campaign against the Wang's" (Wang Duo and Wang Yilun) from May to July, i.e. ending where the materials studied here start form.<sup>284</sup> The campaign resembled the central campaign against Liu Shaoqi in that "the explicit mention of the real target – Ulanfu [sic] was still taboo despite the sanction from the Centre in the '13 April Decision' to do so".<sup>285</sup> One reason why preparation was needed may have been the initial ineffectiveness of the 13 April Decision to end the conflict between the parties. Yang (2014) notes an interesting detail from a meeting between Zhou Enlai and Inner Mongolian MR and

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<sup>280</sup> Brown 2006: 69 – 70.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid: 69.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid. 64.

<sup>283</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 220.

<sup>284</sup> Brown 2006: 56.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

rebel representatives on 26 May 1967. In the meeting Zhou blamed the problems in Inner Mongolia, including the factional strives and deaths, on Ulanhu's crime of treason and urged the rebel organizations to put more effort on exposing and denouncing Ulanhu, Wang Yiluo, Wang Duo etc. "enemies".<sup>286</sup>

In the following chapters the result (or rather a sample of the results) of the efforts of the rebels in exposing and denouncing Ulanhu's crimes are discussed. The chapters are organized in themes that begin with quoted passages from the original documents. The quoted passages are meant to serve as introductions to the respective discussion. The (slightly) resembles the organization of the rebels' documents, where the compilations of quotes from Ulanhu are usually organized under themes (the different crimes) preceded with an introduction by the editors that explain the problems the quotes are evidence for.

The rebels' documents are referred to according to the page numbers in Yang (2012), but also according to the number of the document in the "list of documents" (appendix 1). In the footnotes the number of the document is given in parentheses, e.g. Yang 2012 (1): 591 refers to page 591 in Yang (2012), which is the document 1 in the list of documents. This system is used to both avoid constant referring to documents according to their names (which are very long), and to enable an easier referral to source documents.<sup>287</sup>

### 6.2.1 Opposing Chairman Mao and Class Struggle

长期以来，乌兰夫窃据了内蒙古自治区党、政、军、财、文大权，推行一条修正主义，民族分裂主义的反革命政治路线。他极力宣扬资产阶级民族观，借口民族特点、地区特点，抹煞阶级矛盾，以民族问题代替阶级斗争；... ..

*For a long time Ulanhu has unjustly claimed the major power over the party, government, military, finance, and culture in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, implementing revisionist and national splittist counter-revolutionary political line. He propagates a bourgeois nationality view with all his strength, using nationality and local characteristics as pretense to obliterate class conflict, replacing class struggle with the nationality problem; ...*<sup>288</sup>

Like the report from the Qianmen Hotel meetings already suggested, class struggle – or in Ulanhu's case the alleged denial of class struggle was a major theme on the rebels' documents.

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<sup>286</sup> Yang 2014: 222 – 223. In Yang's view, this is how the Centre blamed the IMAR problems on Ulanhu and turned the "spearhead" (*against*) Mongols, proving that the becoming killings of Mongols were initiated from the Centre.

<sup>287</sup> The system was inspired by the one, despite different, used by Brown (2006).

<sup>288</sup> Yang 2012 (2.2): 617. The quotation from the introduction to the *Compilation of Ulanhu's Reactionary Views* that is the second part of the *Extracts From Ulanhu's Black Speeches* by the Inner Mongolia University "Jinggangshan" Denounce Ulanhu Liaison Station, that is the second document among the rebels' documents compiled in Yang (2012) (no date indicated).

Being of central importance for Mao since the beginning of the Socialist education movement, class struggle and the resistance of capitalist revival and revisionism within the Party were the main themes linking the Center's ideas of the CR to the local issues in Inner Mongolia. The pragmatic policies that emphasized nationality characteristics and starting from Inner Mongolian reality since the establishment of the IMAR had earned Inner Mongolia the title of the "exemplary model of minority nationalities"<sup>289</sup>. But starting from the autumn of 1962 and the Tenth Plenum of the Eight Central Committee, where Mao defined the central political line as opposing revisionism internationally and guarding against it domestically (*fanxiu fangxiu*), and "re-emphasized the class struggle" (*chongxin qiangdiao jieji douzheng*), the pragmatic policies in Inner Mongolia started to become more and more incompatible with the central tone.<sup>290</sup>

In Ulanhu's case, the essential problem of the ideological conflict with Mao and the Centre was the conflict between class struggle and nationality politics. The Qianmen Hotel Report accused Ulanhu of prioritizing the nationality problem over class struggle, when the correct Mao Zedong thought viewed the nationality conflict as essentially a class conflict, as expressed by Mao in 1963 (see chapter 6.1).

On the issue of class struggle, the rebels' mostly repeat what was already pronounced in the Qianmen Hotel Report. Backed by the "brilliant and mighty thesis" by Mao that "nationality struggle, in the final analysis, is a problem of class struggle"<sup>291</sup>, Ulanhu is criticized of rejecting and twisting this view and promoting anti-Maoist policies. He had replaced class struggle with the nationality problem and made it his "first and foremost cause" (*gang shang zhi gang*).<sup>292</sup>

Earliest quotations of Ulanhu opposing class struggle by emphasizing the particularity of nationalities are from 1946 – 1949 and consider land reforms. The quotations allegedly testify that Ulanhu, "in order to protect the reactionary regime, actually dared to distort the most fundamental and important conflict, the class conflict, into a nationality conflict"<sup>293</sup>. The main "error" of Ulanhu was to promote differentiating policies on land reform based on ethnicity, region, and economy. A prime example is the "class capitulationist" (*jieji touxiang*) "Three Nos" policy in pastoral regions already mentioned in the Qianmen Hotel Report and a policy of "not struggling and not striking down" (*bu douzheng budado*) landlords (*dizhu*) and rich peasants

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<sup>289</sup> Shaoshu minzude bangyang. A title conferred by *People's Daily* in an editorial on 1 May 1957 (Quoted in QI Zhi 2010: 56.)

<sup>290</sup> Paltemaa & Vuori 2012: 146; QI Zhi 2010: 56.

<sup>291</sup> One of the most used quotes from Mao in the materials, e.g. (2.1): 601; (2.2): 621; (3): 644

<sup>292</sup> Yang 2012 (2.1): 601 – 602; 3: 644.

<sup>293</sup> Yang 2012 (2.2): 621. More on early land reforms in eastern Inner Mongolia and the IMAR in Bulag 2002 (114 – 121).

(*funong*) in agricultural regions that, according to the rebels, was maintaining the feudal class rule<sup>294</sup>.

The problem of denying the basic principles of the nationality problem surfaced again in 1962. The rebels' document 1 criticizes Ulanhu's speech at the Central Nationality Work Conference (*zhongyang minzu gongzuo huiyi*) in April, 1962 for refusing to mention the proletarian dictatorship and its function in the IMAR socialist revolution and construction, but replacing it with ideas of "minorities being masters in their own territory" (*shaoshuminzu dangjia zuozhu*) and "right to self-determination" (*zizheng quanli*) trying to gain support for his "capitalist dictatorship" (*zichanjieji zhuanzheng*)<sup>295</sup>.

Ulanhu's views on economic development of Inner Mongolia were heavily criticized for suffocating the class struggle. In a speech to the persons in charge of league-committees (*mengwei*) in 1953 Ulanhu describes the Party's previous work in Inner Mongolia as that of achieving equality of nationalities, and that going forward the goal should be economic construction and elimination of the inequalities in economy and culture, remnants of history<sup>296</sup>. In the rebels' papers this kind of talk in support of economic development as a means of achieving equality of nationalities was interpreted as abandoning the most important "historical mission", the class struggle and "...leading the minority nationality's workers on the capitalist road..."<sup>297</sup>. Four years later in August, 1957 "when the Anti-Rightist Campaign had already begun", Ulanhu is again quoted "crushing" it [the Anti-Rightist campaign] with his talks about the socialist construction being "the overriding task" in the IMAR<sup>298</sup>.

The twofold conflict of both nationality policy and economic development being at odds with the principal mission of class struggle is prominent in regard to the economic development of pastoral regions (*muqu*). In quotations from 1965 considering pastoral-region specific policies, like the Three Nos and Two Benefits, Ulanhu commends how the pastoral economy has been able to flourish and been beneficial to all parties, and how the herdlords (*muzhu*) have successfully been incorporated to the government. Later, during the Four Cleanups Ulanhu is quoted defending the importance of pastoral economy before the class struggle, as the full-blown class struggle would be the end of pastoral economy. For the editors, these examples show Ulanhu's hostility towards class struggle and consider it "viciously attacking" the

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<sup>294</sup> Yang 2012 (2.2): 621.

<sup>295</sup> Yang 2012 (1): 592.

<sup>296</sup> Yang (3): 657.

<sup>297</sup> Yang (3): 658.

<sup>298</sup> Yang (3): 658.

democratic revolution, the socialist transformation and the Four Cleanups. Despite success in the increase of production, this success is considered similar to the “bourgeois revolution of Britain”, making the capitalist class richer and leaving the society with the problems of unemployment and poverty. Thus, the specific policies for pastoral regions, despite their superficial success, are a form of capitalism, taking the wrong road.<sup>299</sup>

The problem of Ulanhu placing the nationality question above the class struggle is only one of the ways he is seen as “opposing the Party, Mao Zedong thinking, and socialism”, but it can be seen as the most fundamental or general one. Qi Zhi describes the contradictions within the Party, appearing in the form of line and power struggles, as being “on the surface, central, and primary”<sup>300</sup> that surfaced in the beginning of the CR as a result of the 1958 Central Committee definition that “in a class society the true nature of the nationality problem is class problem” and the reasserted emphasis on class struggle since in the 60’s.<sup>301</sup> Not surprising from a report approved by the Party Center, the conflict between Ulanhu’s pragmatic policies adapted to local conditions and Mao’s radical leftist line was already well established in the Qianmen Hotel report. Ulanhu’s errors concerning nationality policies, like the Three Nos, peaceful transition instead of class struggle, and opposing the Four Cleanups were recorded in the Qianmen Hotel Report and the rebels had little to add apart from fierce and vulgar language. However, the centrality of the conflict between minority policy and class struggle is evident in the way that it brought about and affected further conflicts.

### 6.2.2 Ideological Conflict

最后他集其反革命修正主义和民族分裂主义之大成，抛出臭名远扬的“三个基础”，公然对抗毛主席提出的三大革命运动，为资本主义复辟全面制造舆论。

*Finally, he put together all his great achievements of counter-revolutionary revisionism and national splittism, and released the stinkingly notorious “three fundamentals”, openly resisting*

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<sup>299</sup> Yang 2012 (3): 650 – 651.

<sup>300</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 18. As for the third quality of the intraparty contradictions, Qi Zhi (2010) and Woody (1993) are themselves contradictory. In Woody (1993) the “contradictions were on the surface, central, and subsequential [houfaxingde]”, whereas in Qi Zhi (2010) the last of three qualities is *yuanfaxingde* (原發性的), which is translated as “primary” in this thesis. A probable explanation for the contradiction is that Qi Zhi edited the text between the publication based on the handwritten draft (Woody 1993) and the final book (Qi Zhi 2010). The “primary” quality does seem more logical considering the Inner Mongolian CR starting from the denouncement of Ulanhu and his opposition to the Centre before the CR spreading to the AR and among the people. (Qi Zhi 2010: 18; Woody 1993: first page of the main text, after the Editor’s Introduction.)

<sup>301</sup> Qi Zhi 2010. 20.

*the three revolutions campaign put forward by Chairman Mao and preparing public opinion of all aspects in favor of the restoration of capitalism.*<sup>302</sup>

The culmination of Ulanhu's ideological defiance of Mao Zedong thought criticized in the Qianmen Hotel Report was the three foundations (*san ge jichu*) of minzu tuanjie presented by Ulanhu in January 1965, the "revisionist from head to tail" distortion of Mao Zedong thought promoting bourgeois nationalism.<sup>303</sup> In a passage from November 1965 Ulanhu explained the theory about the three foundations: political foundation (*zhengzhi jichu*), economic foundation (*jingji jichu*), and cultural foundation (*wenhua jichu*). The political foundation was to be created by recruiting cadres of all nationalities, in both agricultural and pastoral regions, to establish "class ranks" (*jieji duiwu*) and strengthen minzu tuanjie. In this passage, Ulanhu also refers to Liu Shaoqi's report on constitution that, according to Ulanhu, also stated that the crucial point of the nationality question is the question of the unity of the fatherland, for which a reliable political foundation is needed.<sup>304</sup> The major problem to solve by building economic foundation is the conflict between agriculture and pastoralism that "is inherited from history". This problem should be solved by uniting agriculture and pastoralism, "Mongols can herd, the Han can also herd, the Han can cultivate land, so can the Mongols", turning the conflict into a relationship of both helping each other. About the cultural foundation, Ulanhu reminds that it is ruled about the autonomous region that in IMAR two languages are used side by side (*tongxing liangzhong yuyan*), but this had not been realized, as many Mongol cadres could not speak Chinese, and many Han cadres could not speak Mongolian, even the ones working in the most basic level in pastoral regions. Having a common language, political and economic foundation, would bring a common heart/mind (*gongtongde xinli*).<sup>305</sup>

The rebels criticize the three foundations on similar lines with the Qianmen Hotel Report, but add some more content to the criticism with more aggressive language. The three foundations of the "reigning prince" (*dangdai wangye*) and "autocrat traitor to the people" (*dufu minze*) Ulanhu are counter-revolutionary revisionist, national splittist "mish-mash" (*dazahu*), opposing

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<sup>302</sup> Yang (4): 2012: 665. The quotation is from the introduction for document 4, *Opposing Mao Zedong Thought, Promoting National Splittism, Betraying the Proletarian Dictatorship* by The Hohhot Revolutionary Rebels Liaison Headquarters Denounce Ulanhu Anti-Party Clique Liaison Station, dated July 1967.

<sup>303</sup> QI Zhi 2010: 156; see translation in appendix..

<sup>304</sup> Ulanhu possibly refers to the Report on the Draft of Constitution (*xianfa baogao*) by Liu from September 1954, which does not use the same words with Ulanhu, but in content is very similar. In the report Liu also refers to the "experience in creating a free and equal big family of nationalities [*minzu dajiating*]", and the rules the constitution gives on "construction of politics, economy, and culture of all minority nationalities" (Chinacourt.org).

<sup>305</sup> Yang 2012 (4): 681 – 683.

Mao Zedong's three revolutions (*san da geming*)<sup>306</sup> But the rebels add further attributes to the content and goals of the foundations. The political foundation is said to resist the proletarian dictatorship by turning the proletarian party into a counter-revolutionary splittist party, even a fascist party (*faxisidang*). It suppresses the revolutionary masses and "enlists" (*wangluo*) all kind of "ox monsters and snake demons" (*niugui sheshen*), like landlords (*di*), rich peasants and herders (*fu*, supposedly meaning both peasants and herders), counter-revolutionaries (*fan*), and bad elements (*hua*). The establishment of this "reactionary 'class ranks'" (*fandongde "jiejidiwu"*) is said to have played a major role in the "capitalist counter-revolutionary restorationist counter-current" in the IMAR since February (1967). This reference to the so called February counter-current (*eryue niliu*) in Inner Mongolia, where the "conservatives" and their supporters in the leadership of the AR and the MR suppressed the revolutionaries of course something that did not make to the Qianmen Hotel Report. It can also be observed as an association of the conservative faction and much of the IMAR leadership (that mostly was also "anti-Ulanhu" after the Qianmen Hotel meeting) with Ulanhu and his "black gang" (*heibang*).<sup>307</sup>

In the same document (4) the rebels present the economic foundation of the three foundations as Ulanhu's "sinister talk" (*guihua*, lies/nonsense) that aims to protect the exploiting system and opposes socialist relations of productions, trying to restore capitalism. The cultural foundation is directly in opposition with Mao's idea of all culture, literature and art belonging to a certain class and political line. Ulanhu is accused of "resisting the mass movement of the great study [*daxue*] of Chairman Mao's works" by promoting the "great study" (*daxue*) of the Mongolian language and script.<sup>308</sup> (The problem of cultural foundation is discussed under N.N.)

The three foundations was only a refined version of Ulanhu's defiance of Mao Zedong and the CPC. Its origins could be traced far in IMAR history. Finding evidence of denying the leadership Mao and the CPC was perhaps one of the easiest tasks for the rebels, as standards were low.

An important way in which Ulanhu is considered to have been opposing and denying the leadership of the Party is the way Ulanhu represented the revolutionary history of Inner Mongolia. Whereas the "errors" discussed above (denying class struggle, protecting old elites, setting up a kingdom of his own) were major errors of Ulanhu already criticized in the Qianmen

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<sup>306</sup> The revolutions in class struggle, production (*shengchan geming*), and scientific experiment (*kexue shiyan de geming*). Interestingly, in the passages quoted in the same document, Ulanhu himself emphasizes the importance of the two first of the three revolutions, and that the scientific revolution will be fulfilled within the revolution of production. (Ibid.)

<sup>307</sup> Ibid.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.



Hotel report, here the rebels have but more effort in reinterpreting Ulanhu's speeches considering Inner Mongolian history as "poisonous" and obliterating the alleged leading role of the CPC in the Inner Mongolian revolution and after that in the development of the IMAR.

As an example of Ulanhu distorting history, the rebels give an early quote from the *Report of the February 1947 Lindong Cadre meeting*, where Ulanhu states, that "the beginning of the Inner Mongolian revolution was in Beiping MongolianTibetan School"<sup>309</sup>. Disregarding the spirit of the report where Ulanhu praises the CPC role as the leader of the Inner Mongolian revolution (and the irony of fact that *the CPC* recruited Mongols and other minority students from the school, including Ulanhu), the rebels criticize Ulanhu for distorting (*cuangai*) the correct history, according to which "the Inner Mongolian revolution has been executed under CPC leadership from start to beginning", "under the leadership of the great Mao Zedong thought", and "began from Jlnaggangshan, Ruijin, and Yan'an"<sup>310</sup> and definitely not from "the Mongolian-Tibetan School where traitor-Ulanhu, Kuibi, Jlyatai and other scums of the Zhonghua minzu were"<sup>311</sup>.

Another example of Ulanhu distorting history and denying the CPC and Mao Zedong's leadership is found from his speeches between 1945-1947, i.e. even before the establishment of the IMAG. The rebels collected quotations from Ulanhu that emphasize the role of the Lianhehui (Federation of Inner Mongolian Autonomy movements, an organization led by Ulanhu and working under the CPC) in liberating Inner Mongolia. Despite Ulanhu repeatedly bringing up the CPC's "assistance" (*yuanzhu*) and "help" (*bangzhu*) in the Inner Mongolian strive for autonomy, his error in CR standards was the modest evaluation of the CPC's role: "The counter-revolutionary revisionist Ulanhu" distorts the leadership role of the CPC by calling it help and assistance, and represents the IM revolution as parallel with the Chinese revolution instead of being a part of it<sup>312</sup>. Worst of all, Ulanhu even dares to state that the right to self-decision (*zijuequan*) of all nationalities was advocated by the CPC leader *Mister* Mao Zedong (Mao Zedong xiansheng, italics added), the address 'mister' being an insult of worst kind to the great leader<sup>313</sup>. As is the case throughout the rebels' documents, the context of Ulanhu's speeches, in this case meetings and official document of the Lianhehui and the IMAG, need not be taken into

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<sup>309</sup> 3: 645. The quoted sentence was not to be found in Lindong cadre meeting report included in the Ducaoji (Yang 2012: 155 – 157), but the Ducaoji report includes merely extracts (jiexuan) from the full report. It is possible that the quoted sentence has been left out from the Duocaoji.

<sup>310</sup> Jinggangshan (井冈山, Jiangxi-Hunan, ) is considered the birthplace of the Chinese Red Army/the PLA, Ruijin (瑞金, jiangix), is where the Chinese Soviet Republic was established in 1931, and Yan'an (延安, Shaanxi) is where the Long March ended in late 1935.

<sup>311</sup> 3: 645.

<sup>312</sup> 2.2: 618 – 620.

<sup>313</sup> 2.2: 620.

consideration. Before the establishment of the IMAG Ulanhu's mission was to unite the Inner Mongolian autonomy movements, especially the already established EMAG, under the leadership of the Lianhehui and the CPC, a context where emphasizing the role of the Chinese Communists would not have brought the desired results<sup>314</sup>.

### 6.2.3 Proxy of Aristocrats and the Bourgeoisie

“当代王爷”长期以来自封“领袖”的同时，也把他们的党羽，鱼肉人民的王公贵族捧为少数民族“领袖人物”，这还不算，他又提出什么“自治机关民族化，党的领导机关民族化，自治机关干部民族化”等反革命修正主义口号，为其反动党羽争权夺利，要使他们骑在人民头上作威作福，作为他的“当家作主”的领导核心。<sup>315</sup>

*While proclaiming himself as "minzu leader", since long has the "reigning prince" praised their party wing, the princely aristocrats preying on the people, as the "leading figures" of the minority nationality. What's more, he put forward his "minoritization of the organs of the self-government, leadership organs of the party, cadres of the organs of self-government" and whatever counter-revolutionary revisionist slogans to scramble for this reactionary wing's power and profit, trying to let them ride roughshod over the people, to create his leadership core of "being masters in one's own territory".*

Ulanhu serving the "nationality upper strata" (*minzu shangceng*) of the Mongols and creating his own leadership group by favoring "trusted followers" (*qinxin*) in appointments were both mentioned in the Qianmen Hotel Report, but in different contexts. First there was the part of opposing class struggle and socialist revolution with his pragmatic policies protective of the interests of the upper strata, and the "beautifying" (*meihua*) of them by praising (in 1962) the successful rally of people of all strata who were "patriotic and supportive of the nationality autonomy" to serve the IMAR government since the establishment of the IMAR. Another was the recent development during about one year before the Qianmen Hotel meeting, when

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<sup>314</sup>The Eastern Mongol leadership made conditions for them entering the Lianhehui, e.g. the role of the CPC was to "be kept secret as long as possible" and only the Lianhehui "would be publicly acknowledged as the leading organ of the Inner Mongolian autonomous movement", and the role of the CPC military regions as having "the operational command of the People's Autonomus Army" was downplayed to keep an appearance of an "independent Inner Mongolian army" (Atwood 1993: 67).

<sup>315</sup> Yang 2012 (5): 698 – 699. This quotation is from the second part of *Ulanhu's Counter-revolutionary Revisionist Speeches* by the Hohhot Revolutionary Rebels Liaison Headquarters Denounce and Struggle Ulanhu Anti-Party Clique Liaison Station, July 1967.

Ulanhu assigned cadres allegedly based on allegiance to his revisionist line, anti-Han-chauvinism, and national splittist goals.<sup>316</sup>

The problems of Ulanhu protecting old elites, praising the achievements of using their abilities for the benefit of the IMAR, and promoting the minoritization of cadres to strengthen unity (*tuanjie*) are in the rebels' documents all a part of the same major crime of "conspiring to set up his own kingdom" and "restoring capitalism".<sup>317</sup> One more crime already mentioned in the Qianmen Hotel Report, using the 1935 Declaration for his kingdom ambitions and to fight "so called Han chauvinism" is also added to this category, fulfilling the evidence for Ulanhu's 20 years of splittist conspiracy.<sup>318</sup>

What was considered beautifying the upper strata in his speeches in 1962 by the Qianmen Hotel Report, had its roots in the early history of the IMAR. As the summarized in document 5: "From the Inner Mongolia autonomy movement to the democratic revolution, to land reform and all the way to the socialist transformation and socialist education movement," Ulanhu had protected the interests of the feudal upper strata and the herdlords with his counter-revolutionary and anti-class-struggle pretext of the "theory of the speciality of the [Mongol] nationality" (*minzu teshu lun*).<sup>319</sup>

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<sup>316</sup> See parts 2 and 5 of the translation in appendix N, and Qi Zhi (2010: 156 – 158, 162 – 162).

<sup>317</sup> E.g. 2012 (5): 687.

<sup>318</sup> E.g. Yang 2012 (5): 687 – 704; (3) 642 – 661.

<sup>319</sup> Yang 2012 (5): 642.

<sup>323</sup> The depth of the problem of "traitor-Ulanhu's" (*Wu zei*<sup>326</sup>) *tuanjie*-talks considering the protection of old elites can be observed in document 3. First of all, "protecting" the old elites by taking them into the new government, letting them transform themselves by "excavating each other's thinking" (*huxiang wa sixiang*) and letting old princes be elected as banner leaders is "class capitulationism" at its worst<sup>327</sup>. Not only is he protecting and serving the old elites but is trying to replace the proletarian dictatorship with "nationality dictatorship" (*minzu zhuanzheng*). The promotion of peaceful transformation instead of "fierce class struggle" in minority regions, according to Ulanhu himself, may have seemed to have been making concessions to elites on the surface, but its aim was to pave a more stable and easily acceptable road towards socialism, for the benefit of the minority nationality. This, however, was not only incompatible with Mao's idea of revolution being "an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another"<sup>328</sup>, but it also shows that the aim of traitor-Ulanhu's revolution "is not overthrowing the feudal upper class oppressing and exploiting the great masses of the minority workers, crush

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<sup>320</sup> "Authoritative media" (*quanwei meiti*) calling Ulanhu "contemporary prince" (*dangdai wangye*) also inspired the "masses" come up with related names for his close allies. Kuibi and Jiyatai, whose common history with Ulanhu led back to the Mongol-Tibetan School were named Ulanhu's "right and left prime minister" (*zuo-you chengxiang*, *chengxiang* being the highest official in imperial China). Buhe (Ulanhu's son) and Yun Liwen (Ulanhu's wife) were called the contemporary prince's "son of a bitch" (*gou erzi*, literally dog's son) and "stinking wife" (*chou poniang*) etc. (Qi Zhi 2010: 220).

<sup>321</sup> Yang 2012 (

<sup>322</sup> Yang 2012 (

<sup>323</sup> Collectivisation in agricultural regions had begun from voluntary "mutual aid teams" (*互助组*) in eastern IM already before the establishment of the PRC and in western Inner Mongolia after the land reform, too. The focus of the movement turned to collectives (*hezuoshe*, first into "elementary clectives" *chuji hezuoshe* and then "advanced collectives" *gaoji hezuoshe*) after the Center's Decision on the development of agricultural production collectives in October, 1952. The collectivization of agriculture in IM was "fundamentally completed" by late 1956. (Hao 1991: 117 – 119.)

<sup>324</sup> Yang 2012 (

<sup>325</sup> Yang 2012 (

<sup>326</sup> *Wu zei* (烏賊) is the derogatory nickname given to Ulanhu in document 3. The first character 烏 (*wu*) stands for Ulanhu (Wulanfu). 賊 *zei* (thief, traitor) was a part of the CR vocabulary used to denigrate enemies, e.g. in October 1968 when Liu Shaoqi was expelled from the Party, he was characterized a "traitor, hidden agent, and strikebreaker" (*gongzei* 工賊) (*pantu, neijian, gongzei*) (Zhao 1995: 248 – 249.). A common term of abuse used for Ulanhu was "reigning prince" (*dangdai wangye*, 當代王爺), which also inspired more names given to his allies, e.g. "left and right (chief) ministers" (*zuoyou chengxiang*, 左右丞相) of Ulanhu used for Kuibi (奎璧) and Jiyatai (吉雅泰) (Qi Zhi 2010:220).

<sup>327</sup> Boyanmandu esimerkinä. "a feudal figure, utilized by Japan, utilized by the GMD, always a reactionary, during the land reform, people like this, we protected them" (3: 648).

<sup>328</sup> Full English translation of the famous quotation: A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another. "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" (March 1927), Selected Works, Vol. I p.28. <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/ch02.htm> (29 Sept. 2017)

the cruel serf system, the feudal system, but to achieve the goal of 'stable and unified development of production', thus clearly protecting the reactionary forces and opposing class struggle<sup>329, 330</sup>.

#### 6.2.4 Crimes in the Cultural Domain

乌兰夫妄想分裂我们的社会主义祖国、建立资产阶级专政的大蒙古国，长时期以来，就把他的反革命修正主义民族分裂主义的黑手伸进了文化领域的各个部门 ...

*In his vain attempt to split our socialist fatherland and found a Great Mongolian Kingdom of bourgeois dictatorship, Ulanhu has since long reached his counter-revolutionary revisionist national splittist black hand into all branches of the cultural sphere ...*<sup>331</sup>

Ulanhu's crimes in the cultural sphere is a topic that was touched only as a part of him "bowing to revisionism" in the Qianmen Hotel Report in the form of the promotion of the use of the Cyrillic script in writing Mongolian to unify the writing system with the one used in the "revisionist" MPR<sup>332</sup>. In the rebels' materials from the Summer of 1967 Ulanhu's actions in the cultural sphere receive more attention their evaluation is developed to fit the ideological problem of denying class struggle.

The problem of reforming the Mongolian language touched upon in the Qianmen Hotel Report developed from a bow to revisionism into a part of "creating conditions for founding a counter-revolutionary independent kingdom" in the rebels' documents<sup>333</sup>. In the early- and mid-1950s Ulanhu promoted the Cyrillic script as a part of developing the Mongol culture, which also included unifying dialects, creating "new Mongolian" (*xin mengwen*) education and science, in order to unify Inner Mongolia and catch up and learn from the "more than twenty years of experience" of revolution in the MPR that was considered more developed<sup>334</sup>. In Ulanhu's view, the reform of the Mongolian language and script was both a question of "how to unite Inner Mongolia, and at the same time engage in cultural exchange with the 'Khalkha' (ka'erka, the largest ethnic group in Outer Mongolia, here meaning the MPR)"<sup>335</sup>. Thus the reform had both domestic and international aspect. Domestically there was the goal of unifying the people through unifying the Mongolian dialects and script, and internationally the cultural exchange

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<sup>329</sup> 3: 650.

<sup>330</sup> 3: 648 – 650.

<sup>331</sup> Yang 2012 (7): 730. This quotation is from the introduction to the third part of the *Extracts from Ulanhu's Counter-revolutionary Revisionist Speeches* by the Hohhot Revolutionary Rebels Liaison Headquarters Denounce and Struggle Ulanhu Anti-Party Clique Liaison Station, dated September 1967.

<sup>332</sup> See chapter X.X in this thesis and appendix X.

<sup>333</sup> Yang 2012 (7): 740.

<sup>334</sup> Ibid: 741.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid: 740.

with the Mongols in the MPR, as they formed “one minzu in two countries” (yige minzu, liang ge guojia)<sup>336</sup>. These views served evidence for both founding an independent kingdom in Inner Mongolia, as well as bowing to revisionism and trying to unify Inner and Outer Mongolia. Already criticized in the Qianmen Hotel Report, the problem of the reform of the Mongolian script became a part of the early findings paving way towards the excavation and elimination of the Neirendang.

In September 1955 the IMAR People’s Government had passed a decision on promoting new Mongolian script in a reform that should be completed in six years. During the following two years the reform was prepared in cooperation with the MPR to unify the script and promote the development of Inner Mongolian culture. However, the Centre did not agree with the reform, in Qi Zhi’s view due to the threat of secessionism the unification of the Inner Mongolian script with the Cyrillic script used in the MPR and Soviet Union<sup>337</sup>. In January 1957 Zhou Enlai reported the Centre’s opinion on the matter by stating, that the future reforms of minority language scripts shall be based on the Latin alphabet, as is consistent with the Chinese language that had adopted the Latin alphabet as a medium of phonetic transcription (the Hanyu pinyin). Ulanhu’s plan was thus frustrated by the Centre’s intervention<sup>338</sup>. However, the attempt provided lots of material for the denouncement of Ulanhu during the Cultural Revolution. When the “wind of catching traitors and spies” (*jiu pantu, tewu zhi feng*) reach Inner Mongolia in the latter half of 1967, the first “old IMPRP” member to be caught was Hafeng’a, the IMAR vice-chairman, head of the Language Committee (*yuwei*) in charge of culture and education, who had also been the person in charge of the Committee for Unifying Nouns and Terms of Inner and Outer Mongolia (Nei-Waimeng mingci shuyu tongyi weiyuanhui, established in July 1956 in Ulaanbaatar as a joint effort of Inner and Outer Mongolia), was taken from Beijing by the Catch Hafeng’a Liaison Station (*jiu Ha lianluozhan*) to Hohhot to be denounced and criticized. During the investigation of Hafeng’a’s case, the Special Case Group (*zhuan’an zu*) found out about the history of the IMPRP that had advocated the unification of Inner and Outer Mongolia, and that Hafeng’a had been its leader. At the same time, they discovered a connection between Hafeng’a and the deputy chief of the IMAR PC Propaganda Department, Tegusi (特古斯), who had been introduced to the IMPRP by Hafeng’a. The discovery of the two IMPRP members were the first signs leading to the discovery of the new Neirendang.<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> Ibid: 740 – 741.

<sup>337</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 76.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid: 76 – 77.

<sup>339</sup> Ibid: 76, 228 – 230.

Another problem in Ulanhu's views considering the cultural sphere was the promotion of a common language (*gongtong yuyan*), more specifically the view that Inner Mongolian cadres, whether Mongols or Chinese, should know both Mongolian and Chinese languages. The problem is examined in Ulanhu's speech at the third expanded meeting of the second IMAR Party Committee in 13 January 1965, where he expressed displeasure with how Inner Mongolia had not been able to realize the common usage of two languages, Chinese and Mongolian. He saw a problem in the fact that "many Mongols can't speak Chinese and even the Chinese working at the very lowest levels in pastoral regions can't speak Mongolian"<sup>340</sup>. Ulanhu was promoting bilingualism among cadres as a basis for a "common mental state" (*gongtong xinli zhuangtai*) and to avoid barriers between nationalities, i.e. to promote "tuanjie". However, by changing the point of view Ulanhu's promotion of unity becomes ideological defiance and is, in fact, breaking the unity. For the rebels, a common language has nothing to do with a common state of mind, as testified by the way "princes, herdlords, landlords" don't share a state of mind with "poor herders, poor and lower middle peasants"<sup>341</sup>. Seen in this way, the promotion of common language and common mental state instead of proletarian culture and cultural revolution proves Ulanhu is a "representative of the feudal upper classes wrapped in a communist party coat"<sup>342</sup>.

The problem of promoting bilingualism and common language as a foundation for a common mental state criticized in the rebels documents as "opposing the leadership of proletarian thought, and the use of the endlessly radiant Mao Zedong thought to unify the thinking of all nationalities" became a central theme of the official attack on Ulanhu, too<sup>343</sup>. Kerry Brown (2006) quotes a 15 January article on the IM Daily, which saw Ulanhu's logic of achieving a "common attitude" through a common language as "clearly the old tune of class compromise theory (*jieji tiaohelun de laodiao*)"<sup>344</sup>. Brown argues, that while superficially the criticism towards Ulanhu's views on common language as a basis for common mental state and towards the reform of the Mongolian script declared "that the fundamentals of ideology transcend language", there also was "a sense in which this was suppression of greater use of Mongolian, and a reaction against the symbolic unity coming from the spoken language between the Mongolian people's republic, and Mongolians in IMAR"<sup>345</sup>. As already became clear in the rebels' criticism, Marxism-Leninism

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<sup>340</sup> Yang 2012: 297.

<sup>341</sup> Yang 2012 (3): 647.

<sup>342</sup> Ibid.

<sup>343</sup> Yang 2012 (7): 734.

<sup>344</sup> Brown 2006: 72. What Kerry Brown has translated as "common attitude" is probably the same phrase of *gongtong xinli zhuangtai* translated as "common mental state" in this thesis.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid. On a side note, "the few words in Mongolian that had appeared on the front page of the IM Daily" were banished from early 1968 onwards (Brown 2006: 72 - 73).

and Mao Zedong Thought formed “a fundamental ideological body of truth beyond language”, that could only be adequately conveyed by the language of the Centre<sup>346, 347</sup>.

The further criticism on Ulanhu’s erroneous views considering the cultural sphere also reflect the primacy of class struggle over minority policy. In the first document that collects Ulanhu’s “black speeches” from the April 1962 Central Nationality Work Conference, the rebels base their criticism on Mao’s statement: “In today’s world, all culture or literature and art belong to a certain class, belong to a certain political line. In reality, art for the sake of art [*wei yishude yishu*], supra-class art [*chao jieji de yishu*], and art coexisting side by side or independent of politics, does not exist.”<sup>348</sup> This is the manifestation of the conflicts between Ulanhu’s view on IMAR local characteristics and the Centre’s universalism, class struggle and minzu policy, observed in the cultural sphere. The rebels quote Ulanhu’s words that emphasize the importance of “minzu characteristics” and “minzu form” in the development of literature and art: “We are taught by experience, that in order to develop flourishing minzu culture with socialist content, we must start from the objective reality in the Autonomous Region, to give consideration to minzu characteristics, apply minzu form”<sup>349</sup>. To the rebels, this “empty talk of minzu characteristics and minzu form”, ignore the class struggle within the cultural sphere and the the “fundamental question of serving proletarian politics”<sup>350</sup>.

One individual example of Ulanhu’s problem of not serving the class struggle is his criticism towards the manuscript of the play *Baogangren* (包钢人)<sup>351</sup> at the Forum to Celebrate the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Preparatory Committee (*Qingzhu ershi zhounian chouweihui kaide zuotanhui*) on 22 December 1965. Ulanhu uses the example of the play Baoganren to the IM cadres,

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<sup>346</sup> Brown 2006: 73.

<sup>347</sup> In his discussion on the official attack in early 1968 against Ulanhu’s “new empire” and its “ideological basis” of “three theories” (political, economic, and cultural), Brown describes the cultural aspect as follows: “‘Study of two languages. With a common language, there is a common heart’ (reference to the use of different scripts in Mongolian People’s republic and IMAR...)” (Brown 2006: 71). While the international aspect of the problem of Ulanhu’s attempted reform of the (Inner) Mongolian script definitely was an important part of the criticism towards language policies, in his speech on 30 December 1965 quoted often by the rebels, Ulanhu promotes the bilingualism among cadres as a means of strengthening unity *within* Inner Mongolia and between Mongols and Chinese. The quotes from mid 1950s regarding the reform of Mongolian script do not seem to be connected to the “common heart” or “mental state” in the “cultural foundation” of Ulanhu’s three theories, but it is of course possible, that creative interpretation was used to increase the effect of the materials denouncing Ulanhu. The “three foundations” (*sange jichu*) that seem identical to the “three theories” discussed by Brown are criticized in the rebels’ materials as a part of Ulanhu’s speeches in December 1965 (see Yang 2012: 292 – 293; 683).

<sup>348</sup> Yang 2012 (1): 595.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid.

<sup>351</sup> Baogang, abbreviation of Baotou gangtie (包头钢铁, “Baotou steel and iron”), is “one of the first iron and steel industry bases in China”. Its construction started in 1954 and went into operation in 1959. (Baidu1)



especially the Chinese ones, that while bringing industry to Inner Mongolia, organizing working class ranks (*gongren jieji duiwu*) from peasants and herders and transform their old thinking to strengthen unity, one should not forget the reality of Inner Mongolia. In his view, the Baoganren did not “dare to exposed conflicts”<sup>352</sup>. In Ulanhu’s view the play avoided bringing up conflicts like the problems the herders experience when they are forced to leave their native pastures and wives to go work in a factory and adapt to life in a city, and depicted the recruitment of Mongol workers as troublesome, when the Chinese peasants would in reality be similarly reluctant to leave their homes to work in factories.<sup>353</sup> In document three, the rebels counter the Criticism by Ulanhu by arguing that he himself is “breaking the unity of workers of all nationalities” by his criticism “preaching ‘conflicts and difference [between Mongols and Chinese]” that denies that fact that “the class interests among Mongol and Han workers are identical”<sup>354</sup>. The same criticism by Ulanhu is observed also in document two, that considers Ulanhu’s claim that in reality a herder’s wife would be sad of her husband leaving her to work in a factory as “wilful defamation of the working people”<sup>355</sup>.

To summarize the rebels’ criticism on Ulanhu’s views considering the cultural sphere, the common theme is his insistence on taking the local characteristics of Inner Mongolia into consideration, when he “should” have been promoting and universalist line based on the “common benefit” of the working class. While the Qianmen Hotel Report did not have much content considering these problems, the rebels’ criticism is based on the same ideological conflicts of minzu policy and class struggle, and Ulanhu’s alleged opposition to Mao Zedong and the Centre already established in the Qianmen Hotel Report.

#### 6.2.5 Kingdom of Ulanhu

他一贯用反革命修正主义和民族分裂主义反对毛主席关于少数民族自治的理论和政策，拼命篡改民族区域自治政权的无产阶级专政性质，阴谋复辟资本主义的封建主义，把内蒙古变成王公贵族、地主资产阶级专政的“乌兰夫王朝”，变成帝国主义和现代修正主义的殖民地和附属国。<sup>356</sup>

He [Ulanhu] has always been opposing Chairman Mao’s theory and policies considering minority nationality autonomy with counter-revolutionary revisionism and national splittism, exerting himself on tampering with the proletarian dictatorship nature of nationality regional autonomy, conspiring to restore capitalist feudalism, turning Inner Mongolia into an “Ulanhu

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<sup>352</sup> Yang 2012: 324.

<sup>353</sup> Yang 2012: 323 – 324.

<sup>354</sup> Yang 2012 (3): 662.

<sup>355</sup> Yang 2012 (2): 609 – 610.

<sup>356</sup> Yang 2012 (5): 689. This passage is from the document *Distorting the Nature of the Proletarian Dictatorship of Regional Autonomy, Conspiring to Establish a Kingdom of his own, to Restore Capitalism* by the Hohhot Revolutionary Rebels Liaison Headquarters, dated July 1967.

dynasty" of bourgeois dictatorship of princely aristocrats and landlords, into a colony and dependency of imperialism and modern revisionism.

早在抗戰勝利后，“當代王爺”領著他的一小撮狐群狗黨跑到內蒙古的大後方，公開抗拒中國共產黨對內蒙古的統一領導，同王工貴族，蒙奸賣國賊大搞反革命串聯，到處大叫大嚷什麼“為祖先的榮譽，要民族對立、民族自決”，妄圖繼承成吉思汗、林丹汗、德王、李守信等封建貴族和蒙奸賣國賊的反動統治。<sup>357</sup>

*As early as after the victory in the War of Resistance [against Japan], the “reigning prince” led his small pack of foxes and dogs and run to the great [GMD controlled] rear of Inner Mongolia, openly resisted the leadership of the CPC in Inner Mongolia, established vast counterrevolutionary connections with princely aristocrats, Mongol traitors, and collaborationists, went around crying out for “minzu independence and minzu self-determination for honour of the ancestors”, trying to carry on the reactionary regime of Chinggis Khan, Ligdan Khan, Prince De, Li Shouxin and other feudal aristocrats and Mongol traitor-collaborationists.*

Duli wangguo, “kingdom of one’s own” or “independent kingdom” (duli, independent + wangguo, kingdom), something Ulanhu was accused of aiming at in the Qianmen Hotel Report by using the 1935 Declaration, refers to “an administrative region [*xingzhengqu*] or unit [*danwei*] resisting or not following the superior’s leadership”<sup>358</sup>, i.e. not actually establishing an independent country in a literal sense. In the Qianmen Hotel Report Ulanhu’s kingdom ambitions were denounced as a combination of splittism, local nationalism, resistance to the Centre, and personal hunger for power. Although referring to splittist intentions and local (Mongol) nationalism in the Qianmen Hotel Report already blurs the line between a figurative interpretations of the “kingdom of his own” and an actual crime of splittism or secessionism, the criticism is based mostly on Ulanhu’s actions of fighting Han chauvinism and resisting superiors “since the latter half of last year”, meaning the year 1965, thus not yet openly framing Ulanhu’s history as a leader of the IMAR as a history of splittist conspiracy. The rebels’ documents, on the other hand, provide more historical “proof” of Ulanhu’s kingdom ambitions.

The document 5 can be considered a representative collection of Ulanhu’s splittist crimes. It combines most of Ulanhu’s “crimes” discussed in the documents into a great plan of founding an independent kingdom and restoring capitalism. The earliest evidence of these plans is Ulanhu’s “resistance to CPC leadership, advocacy of minzu independence and minzu self-determination”.<sup>359</sup> The rebels “expose” Ulanhu’s history of leading his “pack of foxes and dogs”

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<sup>357</sup>Yang 2012 (5): 691. This passage is from the document *Distorting the Nature of the Proletarian Dictatorship of Regional Autonomy, Conspiring to Establish a Kingdom of his own, to Restore Capitalism* by the Hohhot revolutionary rebels liaison headquarters, dated July 1967.

<sup>358</sup> Baidu baike: 独立王国

(<https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E7%8B%AC%E7%AB%8B%E7%8E%8B%E5%9B%BD>)

<sup>359</sup> Tang 2012 (5): 691.

(*huqun goudang*) to the GMD controlled “great rear” (*dahoufang*) after the victory of the War of Resistance against Japan, to establish connections with “princely aristocrats and Mongol traitor-collaborationists” (*Mengjian maiguozei*), “crying out for ‘minzu independence and minzu self-determination for the honour of the ancestors’, trying to carry on the reactionary regime of Chinggis Khan, Ligdan Khan<sup>360</sup>, Prince De, Li Shouxin<sup>361</sup> and other feudal aristocrats and Mongol traitor-collaborationists.<sup>362</sup> These allegations are backed up with quotes from 1945-1947, from the funding conference of the Lianhehui (November 1945) to the Lindong cadre meeting (November 1947). Some of the quotes are already known examples from the part considering Ulanhu’s defiance of CPC leadership, like talking about the Lianhehui “with the help of the CPC” being the leader of the Inner Mongolian autonomy movements” or a similar “error” from a different point of view, comparing the Inner Mongolian movement with the development in the MPD that’s independence was recognized only after “more than twenty years of revolution”.<sup>363</sup> This time the implied meaning of the quotes seems to be hidden in the context of the speeches, i.e. the “audience” of Ulanhu in the land around establishment of the IMAR (as the IMAG). The effort of Ulanhu bringing the various Inner Mongolian autonomy movements under the leadership of the Lianhehui is interpreted as evidence of trying to “establish his independent kingdom” of “dictatorship of feudal aristocrat capitalist old masters (*laoyemen*)”.<sup>364</sup>

Document 5 then proceeds to expose how the reigning prince’s “democratic government” (*minzhu zhengfu*) protected the interests of the elites, by stating in his government programme (*shizheng gangling*) that “all the personal rights and property of all the people of Inner Mongolia (peasants, herdsmen, workers, intellectuals, the military, public officials, skilled workers, the self-employed, landlords, herdlords, industrialists and merchants, lamas and former princes) are guaranteed by the autonomous government”.<sup>365</sup> This statement, along with others presenting the IMAR as a project of “*tuanjie*”, bringing all strata and all nationalities under the leadership and to the service of the AR government allegedly support the rebels’ accusation of Ulanhu building a counterrevolutionary regime (*fangeming zhengquan*). Interestingly, the rebels seem to have given preference to quotes where Ulanhu mentions Chinggis Khan. Ulanhu is for example quoted talking about the new government as a “great unity of Chinggis Khan’s

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<sup>360</sup> Ligdan Khan (Chinese: Lindan Han 林丹汗, 1588-1634), “the last emperor of the Northern Yuan dynasty” (Atwood 2004: 334 – 335.)

<sup>361</sup> Li Shouxin (李守信 1892-1970), “the number two figure in Japan’s puppet Mongolian regime at Zhangjiakou”, and an “adapted Mongol” of Han migrant ancestry (Liu 2006: 117).

<sup>362</sup> Yang 2012 (5): 691.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid: 691 – 692.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid: 691.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid: 693 – 695.

decendants" (*Chengjisihan zisunde datuanjie*, quote from 1947); referring to Chinggis Khan as a part of the Mongols' "glorious revolutionary history"<sup>366</sup>; and praising Chinggis Khan for uniting the whole of Mongolia and founding a feudal country based on nomadic pastoralist economy.<sup>367</sup> Adding to the list of Mongol historical figures with notorious reputations, in the introduction to the quotes, the rebels describe the programme of Ulanhu's government as being "no different from the reactionary rubbish" (*tongchu yichede fandong huose*) of the Mengjiang government of the "Mongol traitor-collaborationists Prince De and Li Shouxin", both of whom were not mentioned in Ulanhu's quotes.<sup>368</sup>

Moving forward to the time after the establishment of the IMAR, the rebels expose Ulanhu's tactics of appealing to "minorities being masters in their own territories, and governing their domestic matters" in order to "deceive the working people into forgetting the class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship".<sup>369</sup> The rebels quote Ulanhu's speeches from 1957–1962 regarding the principle of "masters in one's own territory", e.g. that the policy of minority regional autonomy in short means that "under the leadership of the party, in all regions with comparatively congregated minority nationality population, they have the right govern their domestic matters as masters in their own territory".<sup>370</sup> For the rebels this shows how Ulanhu, despite sometimes "saying a couple of words about class struggle", persistently holds on to the "false theory" (*miulun*) of minorities being masters in their own territory regarding the authority in autonomous regions. According to the rebels, this connects Ulanhu to the aspirations of "Bernstein"<sup>371</sup>, Khrushchev<sup>372</sup>, and Liu Shaoqi", preaching "all-people's state"<sup>373</sup>, conspiring to turn proletarian dictatorship into bourgeois dictatorship.<sup>374</sup>

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<sup>366</sup> This history also included "Lingdan Khan of the Chahar *bu*, in late Ming-early Qing, Ga'erdan [噶尔丹] of Yimeng [Yikezhao league, Ordos] and other such minzu heroes" (Ibid: 693).

<sup>367</sup> Ibid.

<sup>368</sup> Yang 2012 (5): 693.

<sup>369</sup> Ibid: 695.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid: 695 – 696.

<sup>371</sup> Eduard Bernstein (Chinese: Aidehua Boenshitan 爱德华·伯恩斯坦, or (in the documents) Boensitan 伯恩斯坦 1850–1932), German Marxist theorist and politician.

<sup>372</sup> Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev (usually only referred in Chinese as Heluxiaofu 赫鲁晓夫, 1894–1971)

<sup>373</sup> All-people's state, *quamin guojia*. A concept "proclaimed as 'one of the most important developments of contemporary Marxist–Leninist scientific thought' at the 22<sup>nd</sup> Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1961. The new Party Programme stated, that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" had fulfilled its mission and "ceased to be indispensable", and that the state has become "a state of the of the entire people". (Kanet 1968: 81).

<sup>374</sup> Yang 2012 (5): 695.

The “leadership core of ‘being masters in one’s own territory’” was appointed through favoring Ulanhu’s own trusted followers.<sup>375</sup> as discussed earlier, in the rebels’ document the criticism of the Qianmen Hotel Report towards Ulanhu favoring his “trusted followers” in major leadership appointments shortly before the CR, and advocating the “minoritization” of leadership organs in the IMAR, were connected to the history of “more than twenty years” placing princely aristocrats etc. persons of the upper strata to leadership positions, executing the “evil conspiracy of usurping the party, government, and the military”.<sup>376</sup>

The second to last point of criticism in document 5 is Ulanhu’s hostility (*choushi*) towards minzu tuanjie, sowing discord between nationalities with his opposition to the “so called Han chauvinism”.<sup>377</sup> The rebels elaborate further the Qianmen Hotel Report criticism towards the ignorance of the threat of local nationalism in Inner Mongolia, and that Ulanhu himself is the “root” of Inner Mongolian local national splittism.<sup>378</sup> Ulanhu’s “extreme hostility towards the great unity of people of all nationalities” (*gezu renminde datuanjie*) is presented in quotes from 1947–1966, where he provokes nationality relations and creates splittism by for example stating that in Inner Mongolia “the nationality conflict is most important, class conflict secondary” (February 1947), and that despite the existence of nationalism in some places, but the “major direction of the nationality question” in Inner Mongolia is fighting Han chauvinism (December 1965).<sup>379</sup> The Tumed banned Four Cleanups is presented as “reaching the peak” (*dengfeng zaoji*) of Ulanhu’s splittist agitation. Here Ulanhu is quoted attacking the “Tumed is special” criticism of the time, that in Ulanhu’s view was a denial of the Inner Mongolian leadership, the old revolutionaries from Tumed banner (including Ulanhu himself) and opposition to the party’s minority policy.<sup>380</sup> An interesting inclusion in one quote from 1957, where Ulanhu answers to criticism by “some Mongols” that claim Ulanhu being in (suspiciously) good terms with the Han (*wo he hanzude guanxi gaode hao*) by saying that if Chinggis khan would not have been in good terms with the Han, “how could the Yuan dynasty have reigned for ninety years”.<sup>381</sup> One is inclined to interpret the inclusion of this quote not as an example of Ulanhu sowing discord between the Mongols and the Han (as it was about good relations with the Han), but as suggesting that Ulanhu considers himself the heir of Chinggis Khan and that his

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<sup>375</sup> Yang 2012 (5): 698 – 699. See also the introductory quote to 7.N in this thesis.

<sup>376</sup> Yang 2012 (5): 699.

<sup>377</sup> Yang 2012 (5): 701.

<sup>378</sup> See part 4 of the report, appendix N.N

<sup>379</sup> Yang 2012 (5). 701 – 702.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid: 702.

<sup>381</sup> Ibid.

promotion of national unity and other policies should be suspected as parts of his splittist conspiracies.

The theme of the seventh and last part of document 5 is Ulanhu's minzu fenlie activity by promoting the 1935 Declaration, i.e. same as the fourth "crime" in the Qianmen Hotel Report. The content of this part is similar with the Qianmen Hotel Report, only adding quotes as examples of the points of criticism. In 1965–1966 Ulanhu is quoted defending the Inner Mongolian Autonomy – or agitating splittism, depending on the point of view – by referring to the 1935 Declaration, instructing cadres to study it, and using Mao Zedong's to defend his views (in vain, as during the CR the 1935 Declaration was claimed to be written by "dogmatists within the party" falsely using Mao's name). What could be considered an addition is the problem of Ulanhu claiming territory based on the 1935 Declaration, that was only briefly referred to in the Qianmen Hotel report, but is elaborated by the rebels with quotes from 1947 and 1952. The quotes from 1947 show Ulanhu arguing for that the basis for territorial autonomy should be that "all regions in intimate political and economic relation" to Inner Mongolia should be defined to be a part of the AR, but also warning, that if "the Han are drawn within [ba hanren hualai] the Mongols' autonomy, it becomes Han autonomy!"<sup>382</sup>

#### 6.2.6 Excavating Roots

内蒙党委到底是根子，这是革命的根子，这个根子可以挖掉马？这个根子谁来挖呢？是国民党要挖，美帝国主义要挖，日本帝国主义要挖，其他人也想挖，是要挖什么根子...<sup>383</sup>

*Inner Mongolia Party Committee really is a root, the root of revolution, can this root be dug out? Who is going to dig this root? Guomindang tried to dig it out, American imperialists tried*

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<sup>382</sup> Yang 2012 (5): 704.

<sup>383</sup> Yang 2012 (10): 832. The quote is from Ulanhu's speech in December 1965 at the Hohhot Nationality Work Meeting, quoted in *Compilation of Ulanhu's Reactionary Views* by the Hohhot Third Headquarters Inner Mongolia University Jinggangshan Struggle and Denounce Ulanhu Liaison Station, reprinted (or reproduced, *fanyin*) by the Hohhot Third Headquarters Inner Mongolia Hydraulic Engineering School (*shuidianxiao*) East is Red. This document is handwritten and includes some obsolete simplifications (in addition to some traditional from characters) of characters, that are here written with the present official simplifications. Another interesting detail is the subtitle of this part of the document "Ulanhu on Ulanhu" (Wulanfu lun Wulanfu, 乌兰夫论乌兰夫, page 830), where the fourth character (乌) is turned 90 degrees and the sixth one (夫) turned upside down, and the characters in Ulanhu's name (but not the character for *lun*) are crossed over. A similar "visual effects" trick can be observed on the cover page of a collection of Ulanhu's speeches titled *Strike Down Ulanhu* (Yang 2012: 490), where the "tumbling" (or struck down) characters in Ulanhu's name are accompanied by a drawing of a giant fist striking Ulanhu's back.

*to dig it out, Japanese imperialists tried to dig it out. If others want to dig it out, what root are they digging ...*

The passage above is a slightly modified quote from Ulanhu's speech at the Hohhot Party Committee Nationality Work Meeting in December 1956. In the original speech Ulanhu criticizes the Hohhot Party Committee (Hohhot PC) for not following the IMPC line, for not acknowledging that there are differences between nationalities. According to Ulanhu, the Hohhot PC resisted the IMPC orders, and therefore the Centre's orders by claiming the Tumed banner is "special" (*teshu*), the "root" (*genzi*) of the IMPC, the native place of Ulanhu, Kuibi, Jiyatai<sup>384</sup>. This reflected two problems of Ulanhu right before the CR. One was his alleged favoring of his native Tumed banner, and other the general problem of minority characteristics. For the rebels, Ulanhu was the "revisionist, old national splittist root" they were going to dig out<sup>385</sup>.

However, the most interesting part of this document, and a light ending to this list of Ulanhu's crimes is its use of "visual effects". The document is hand-written, the single one among the ten documents. The editors have made interesting visual enhancements to the otherwise not very beautiful appearance of the document. The subtitle leading to the passage quoted above is "Ulanhu on Wulanhu" (*Wulanfu lun Wulanfu*), consisting of a total of seven characters. The Fourth character, i.e. *wu* in *Wulanfu* is turned 90 degrees left, and the sixth character *fu* is upside-down (see appendix: Picture 2). In addition, the characters in Ulanhu's name(s) are crossed over, but the verb *lun* is not. This must be one way of defaming Ulanhu and adding to the force of the text. Similar trick can be observed elsewhere in the documents. The cover page to a compilation of Ulanhu's "poisonous weeds" by the Inner Mongolia United Front System Criticize and Struggle Ulanhu Liaison Station (*Neimenggu tongzhan xitong pidou Wulanfu lianluozhan*) that is included in the first band of documents in Yang (2012) has the character *lan* in Ulanhu's name turned 90 degrees right<sup>386</sup> and the character *fu* upside-down (see appendix: Picture 1). Accompanying the text is a drawing of a giant fist striking Ulanhu's back. Qi Zhi (2010) also notes that in the propaganda materials of that period in IM Daily denouncing different targets, like Ulanhu, the targets' names in the slogans were sometimes written upside-down or "reclined" (*hengwo*).<sup>387</sup>

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<sup>384</sup> Yang 2012: 338.

<sup>385</sup> Yang 2012 (10): 832.

<sup>386</sup> One could argue that turning the character right makes more sense, as Ulanhu was accused of rightism and promoting bourgeois dictatorship etc. crimes.

<sup>387</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 218 – 219.



## 7. Conclusions

Describing the Inner Mongolian Cultural Revolution, Qi Zhi (2010) has distinguished four conflicts, two within the party, line struggle (*luxian douzheng*) and strive for power (*quanlizhi zheng*), and two outside the party, the conflict between the intelligentsia and the one-party dictatorship and the conflict between bureaucracy and the masses. In minority regions, in this case Inner Mongolia, there was also the conflict of “primacy” (*xianzaixing* 现在性), i.e. the conflict between the majority Han and the minority Mongols.<sup>388</sup> The line struggle was the central conflict that ignited the other conflicts. The conflict between majority and minority was what provided the Inner Mongolian CR with the breeding ground of ethnic violence in the form of the purge of the Neirendang.

However, despite the emergence of ethnic violence targeting Mongols already early on as the CR spread to Inner Mongolia and Mongols were in danger to be attacked as members of Ulanhu’s “black group”, the discovery and persecution of the members of the Neirendang was still ahead when the discussed documents denouncing Ulanhu were produced, in summer 1967. Therefore it is perhaps no surprise that the “primary” conflict within the party was the central theme of the documents around which the other cases against Ulanhu were built. The main conflicts between minority policy and class struggle, “Ulanhu thought” and Mao Zedong thought were well established already in the Qianmen Hotel report and the rebels documents often merely provided historical quotes as evidence of the same cases that were already mentioned in the Qianmen Hotel report.

The most important crime of Ulanhu, maybe one could use the word “primary” to describe its character here too, was the insistence on nationality policy. Since around 1962 and the rediscovered importance of class struggle, Ulanhu had been criticized for ignoring the class struggle on the pretext of nationality conflict being the main issue in Inner Mongolia. However, as the documents show, the earliest evidence of using differentiating policies to benefit the minority were from late 1940s, the establishment of the IMAR and the land reform, and the Three Nos etc. policies, that were considered violating the principle of class struggle. This temporal aspect repeats itself in many of the documents and crimes. It seems that the predominant majority of the quotes are either from the very early years of the IMAR or even some years before its establishment, or from the 1960s, increasing towards 1965/1966. For the large amount of quotes from the last years before the CR a reasonable explanation is the change of political climate. Since 1962 Mao Zedong had been working on consolidating his power after

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<sup>388</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 18.

disastrous policies like the Great Leap Forward and faced with increasing challenge within the party leadership. Class struggle was again emphasized as the fundamental political guiding principle. The rebels did not change this, or even bring much new content to the denouncement but digging the history of Ulanhu may have still been the most important contribution of the rebels to the denouncement of Ulanhu, perhaps even paving way for the discovery of Neirendang.

The historical contribution of Ulanhu to *minzu tuanije* and unity of China was turned upside down by claiming that instead of bringing Inner Mongolia under CPC leadership, Ulanhu had been benefitting the old Mongol elite and conspired to set up his own kingdom. While in the Qianmen Hotel Report Ulanhu's protection of Inner Mongolian elite by bringing them into the new government was based on Ulanhu himself lauding the "tuanjie" policies of the early years of IMAG/IMAR in the 1960s, assumedly as a part of his defense of the importance of nationality policy against class struggle. But the Rebels interpreted Ulanhu's old speeches from the late 1940s promoting the "tuanjie" of all strata as a part of his conspiracy to create a kingdom of bourgeois dictatorship. Now Ulanhu's success in winning the Inner Mongolian autonomy movements over to the Lianhehui and under CPC leadership were denied as crimes of treason, or at least "class capitulationism". Some of the quite extreme examples of the freedom to ignore the context of the speeches were the meeting where Ulanhu spoke to a Mongol audience, promoting the Lianhehui, but made the error of not praising the CPC leadership.

One of the major differences between the Qianmen Hotel Report and the rebels' documents was the appearance of names of enemy figures, to whom Ulanhu was compared or with whom Ulanhu had connections. The appearance of "China's Khrushchev" Liu Shaoqi in the rebels' materials is no surprise. During the Qianmen Hotel Meeting, Liu was still a part of the Centre's leaders criticizing Ulanhu, but by summer 1947 Liu was one of the main targets of "great criticism". Regarding the future developments in the Inner Mongolia CR, of more interest as additions might be the historical Mongol figures that Ulanhu was set side-by-side with. The most important of them was of course Chinggis Khan, the symbol of Mongol nationalism. Chinggis Khan became a forbidden image during the CR, the "descendants of Chinggis Khan", once used by Mao Zedong to call for Inner Mongolian cooperation against the Japanese and the GMD (the 1935 Declaration) "became a term of abuse", and Ulanhu himself was "labelled a 'modern day'" Chinggis Khan.<sup>389</sup> Another case were the "Mongol traitors-collaborationists" like Prince De and Liu Shouxin (see 6.2.5), who were not mentioned in Ulanhu's quotes, but who made it to

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<sup>389</sup> Brown 2006: 184.

document 5. This was not without importance, as the history of Inner Mongolia under Japanese rule and the collaboration with or serving within the Japanese government organs and the Military brought the Mongols and their allegiance to China under suspicion.

As could be expected, the Neirendang was not mentioned in the documents. Still some of the content can be considered, if not directly affecting the “discovery”, but at least giving inspiration to those “mental associations” mentioned by Qi Zhi.<sup>390</sup> In addition to the abovementioned, already quite provoking associations with traitors and collaborationists, an important part of the development towards inventing or discovering the Neirendang was the discovery of old IMPRP figures within the party, and their connections to Ulanhu. A major step towards naming the Neirendang enemy was the discovery of a “peril within the party ranks”, Hafenga had been the leader of IMPRP and who at the time was the director of the language committee in the IMAR people’s Government.<sup>391</sup> Hafenga’s IMPRP background had been found in an investigation that was inspired by his position as the person in charge of the Committee for Unifying Nouns and Terms of Inner and Outer Mongolia in 1956. This can be seen as connected to the case of Ulanhus “Crimes in the Cultural Domain”.<sup>392</sup>

As the discussion of the rebels’ documents and the Qianmen Hotel Report has shown, the main direction of the denouncement of Ulanhu had been set already a year before the rebels’ documents were produced. As noted in the introduction to the chapter discussing the rebels’ documents, the rebels were further guided to the right direction of denouncing Ulanhu in spring 1967. However, the rebels did make own contributions. Driven by the need to prove their devotion to Mao Zedong and the Cultural Revolution, they managed to dig deep into the past of Ulanhu to expose crimes against the unity of China and the dictatorship of the proletariat, without constraints to interpretation of Ulanhu’s history. As Brown (2006) described the difference between the “official” and “unofficial” attacks (the rebels’ documents belonging to the latter”), the official attack was more restrained in language and emphasized “the ideological factor”, whereas the unofficial attack was “fiercer, and conveyed by more aggressive language”.<sup>393</sup> Without considering the difference in language (which indeed was fierce at times), moving outside the “ideological” domain seems to have been a quality of the rebels’ denouncement of Ulanhu. The materials showed no clear clues about the upcoming campaign to purge the Neirendang, but perhaps some hints about the various ways in which the past could

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<sup>390</sup> See chapter 4: Background in this thesis.

<sup>391</sup> See chapter 5.2.

<sup>392</sup> 6.2.4.

<sup>393</sup> Brown 2006: 69.

become as crime to be denounced. The rebels documents here are only a small sample, but as such could be considered an early example of how the need to compete for legitimacy as “true representatives of Mao Zedong’s strategies” and leadership of the rebellious movement eventually enabled the “discovery” of the Neirendang in late 1967.<sup>394</sup>

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<sup>394</sup> Qi Zhi 2010: 250.

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## 9. Appendix

### 9.1 List of documents

1. 《把乌兰夫反毛泽东思想的“黑讲话”拿出来示众》，呼和浩特革命造反联络总部批斗乌兰夫反党集团联络站 师院《东纵》(1967年6月7日) (*Ba Ulanfu fan Mao Zedong sixiang de "hei jianghua" na chulai shizhong*, Huhehaote geming zaofan lianluo zongbu pidou Ulanfu fandang jituan lianluozhan – Shiyuan "Dongzong") An eight-page compilation of extracts from Ulanhu's speeches at the Central Nationalities Work Conference (Zhongyang minzu gongzuo huiyi) in April 1962 with quotes from Mao Zedong and comments from the editors. 7 June, 1967.

2. 《乌兰夫黑话摘录》，呼三司内大井冈山兵团翻印，印刷年月不详

This document consists of two parts, both of them produced by the Hohhot Revolutionary Rebellion Alliance Headquarters, Criticize and Struggle Against Ulanfu Liaison Station, Inner Mongolia University "Jinggangshan". The document does not show the printing date.

The first one (2.1), *A secret report on Ulanhu's counter-revolutionary revisionism and splittism (Wulanfude yi pian fangeming xiuzhengzhuyi minzufenliezhuyide mimi baogao)*, compiles and comments on extracts from Ulanhu's speeches at the Forum to celebrate the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Organizing Committee (Qingzhu ershi zhounian chouweihui zhaokai de zuotanhui) that took place 22 – 24 December, 1965.

The second one (2.2), *Compilation of Ulanhu's reactionary views (Wulanfu fandong yanlun huibian)*, compiles and comments on short (many of them only a simple sentence) quotes from Ulanhu from various origins between 1945 – 1948.

3. 《一、毛主席论民族问题；二、马克思、恩格斯、列宁、斯大林论民族问题；乌兰夫在民族问题方面的罪恶言论一百例批判》，呼和浩特市革命造反联络总部印发，一九六七年七月一日

The third document was printed on 1 July, 1947 by the Hohhot revolutionary rebels liaison headquarters and it was compiled by the Inner Mongolia Medical Institute Dongfanghong Commune Liaison Station for Struggling and Criticizing Ulanhu (Neimenggu yixueyuan "dongfanghong" gongshe doupi Ulanfu lianluozhan). This document first presents a compilation of views on minzu-policy by Marx and Engels, Mao, Lenin, and Stalin. Then it proceeds with "hundred samples" (yibai li) of Ulanhu's evil views on the nationality problem.

4. 《反对毛泽东思想，推行民族分裂主义，背叛无产阶级专政 —— 乌兰夫反革命修正主义言论摘编（一）》，一九六七年七月



The fourth document, *Opposing Mao Zedong thinking, pursuing national splittism, betraying the proletarian dictatorship*, was compiled by the Hohhot revolutionary rebels liaison headquarters denounce Ulanhu anti-Party clique liaison station in July, 1967. It is the first of the four-part *Extracts from Ulanhu's Counter-revolutionary Revisionist Speeches*. The document is divided in five themed chapters each criticizing different "crimes" of Ulanhu., The chapters start with comments by the editors and then continue with quotations organized under subtitles introducing the "spirit" of the following quotations. The time frame of the quotations is 1945 – 1966.

5. 《篡改区域自治的无产阶级专政性质，阴谋搞对立王国，复辟资本主义——乌兰夫反革命修正主义言论摘编（二）》，一九六七年七月

The fifth document, *Distorting the Nature of the Proletarian Dictatorship of Regional Autonomy, Conspiring to Establish a Kingdom of his own, to Restore Capitalism*, is the second part of *Extracts from Ulanhu's Counter-revolutionary Revisionist Speeches* by the Hohhot revolutionary rebels liaison headquarters, dated July 1967.

6. 《保护剥削制度，鼓吹“和平过渡”，反对社会主义革命——乌兰夫反革命修正主义言论摘编（三）》，一九六七年九月

*Protecting the System of Exploitation, Preaching "Peaceful Transition", Opposing Socialist Revolution* is The third part of the *Extracts from Ulanhu's Counter-revolutionary Revisionist Speeches* by the Hohhot revolutionary rebels liaison headquarters denounce Ulanhu anti-Party clique liaison station, dated September 1967.

7. 《斩断乌兰夫伸进文化领域中的黑手——乌兰夫反革命修正主义言论摘编（四）》，一九六七年八月

*Cut off the Black Hands of Ulanhu Stretching inside The Cultural Domain* – the fourth part of the *Extracts from Ulanhu's Counter-revolutionary Revisionist Speeches* by the Hohhot revolutionary rebels liaison headquarters denounce Ulanhu anti-Party clique liaison station, dated August 1967.

8. 《当代王爷乌兰夫十年反革命黑话集》，一九六七年七月二十四日

*Compilation of the Ten Years of Counter-revolutionary Black Speeches by the Reigning Prince Ulanhu* was printed on 24 July by Hohhot Revolutionary Rebels Liaison Station Headquarters.

9. 《反革命的自白书——〈乌兰夫言论集〉（五卷）摘编》，一九六七年八月

*Confessions of a Counter-revolutionary – “Compilation of Ulanhu’s Views” by Hohhot Revolutionary Rebels Liaison Headquarters Denounce and Struggle Ulanhu Anti-Party Clique Liaison Station. Dated August 1967*

10. 《乌兰夫反动言论汇编》，一九六七年九月五日

*Compilation of Ulanhu’s Reactionary Views by Hohhot Third Headquarters Inner Mongolia University Jinagangshan Struggle and Denounce Ulanhu Liaison Station, reprinted (fanyin) by Hohhot Third Headquarters Inner Mongolia School of Hydraulic Power (shuidianxiao) East is Red, dated 5 September 1967. This is the only handwritten document among the primary materials.*

## 9.2 Major Events

1945

August, The Sino-Soviet treaty negotiated in Moscow between the GMD and Soviet governments. The Chinese government agrees to Outer Mongolian independence in exchange for restraints of Soviet expansion in NE and NW China, and Soviet support to the Nationalist government. "China's territorial integrity minus Outer Mongolia" is sealed, closing the door for Inner Mongolian accession to the MPR. (Liu 2006: 39, 41, 137.)

August 18, "Declaration of Inner Mongolian People's Liberation" issued by the Eastern Mongolian Branch of the IMPRP, which announces "the continued existence of an East Mongolian Department" of the IMPRP (Atwood 1992: 29; Liu 2006: 133).

Late August – early September, IMPRP conference in Wangyemiao elects a party executive committee with Hafenga as the secretary general. The conference adopts a "Provisional Constitution" for the IMPRP. (Liu 2006: 133.)

October, The eleven-member "Eastern Mongolia delegation" expresses the will to unite with the Outer Mongolia in Ulaanbaatar but is declined (Qi Zhi 2010: 43).

November 25-27, The founding Conference of the Federation of the Autonomous Movement of Inner Mongolia held in Zhangjiakou (Atwood 1992: 60).

1946

January 1 – 10, Political Consultative Conference convenes in Chongqing. The CCP presents "Draft of the Guidelines towards Peaceful National Construction" in which it states that the equality and autonomy of all nationalities should be recognized in minority regions signifying the replacement of the idea of minority regions establishing independent states with regional autonomy. The draft is approved by the conference. (Qi Zhi 2010: 43 – 44.)

January 16-20, People's Congress of East Mongolia held in Gegenmiao (due to an outbreak of plague in Wangyemiao) which elects the Autonomous Government of East Mongolia. The East Mongolian Autonomous Government is officially inaugurated by an announcement from Buyanmandukhu on February 15. [1946] (Atwood 1992: 45, 49)."

March, Ulanhu meets with the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Government heads Boyanmandu, Hafenga, and Temurbagen in Chifeng<sup>395</sup>, convinces them to cease the operations of Neirendang and join the Lianhehui (Qi Zhi 2010: 47).

April 3, Representatives of Western and Eastern Inner Mongolia convene in Chengde, passing the "Main resolutions of the united conference of the Inner Mongolia autonomy movement" that announced the Inner Mongolian autonomous movements decision to unit under the leadership of the Lianhehui and the CCP. The Eastern Mongolian Autonomous Government and the "Eastern Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party" to be dissolved (although, the IMPRP continued a "hibernating" existence (Liu 2006: 185; Qi Zhi 2010: 47 – 48.)

1947

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<sup>395</sup> This is according to Qi Zhi (2010: 47). Atwood (1992: 65) mentions Ulanhu and the East Mongolian government delegation having met in Ula'ankhada (Wulanhada? in nowadays Wulanhaote. There's also an Wulanhada sumu in Chaha'er Right Rear Banner (youyi houqi) in nowadays Ulanqab municipality, but the location in middle/western Inner Mongolia seems unlikely for a meeting with East Mongolian leaders.) first and then "rendezvousing" at Chengde on March 30.

May 1, The Inner Mongolia Autonomous Government is established. Ulanhu as its chairman, Hafenga the vice-chairman. (Hao 1991: 20)

1953

January 1, Suiyuan People's Government is merged with the IMAR People's Government, the Meng-Sui Military Region (established as a result of a merger in August 1952) changes its name into Inner Mongolia Military Region (Hao 1991: 516).

1952

September, The CPC Central Committee Inner Mongolia Branch Bureau and the CPC Suiyuan Province Committee are joined together to form the CPC CC Meng-Sui Branch Bureau, with Ulanhu as secretary.

1954

March 6, Suiyuan province is officially merged into the IMAR.

April 25, The IMAR People's Government changes the name of Guisui into Hohhot (Huhehaote).

July 27/August 4, the First People's Congress of IMAR convenes for the first time in Hohhot.

1955

July 1, The Centre decides to the CC Inner Mongolia Branch Bureau, establishes the CPC Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Committee (*Neimenggu zihziqu weiyuanhui*) with Ulanhu as its secretary.

July 30, The State Council decides to incorporate 12 banners and counties from the former Rehe province into the IMAR.

1956

April 3, The autonomous Mongol prefecture (*zhou*) Bayanhaote (巴彦浩特) and autonomous Mongol banner Ejina (额济纳) of Gansu province are incorporated into the IMAR and Alashan (阿拉善) league is established. The IMAR reaches its modern frontiers. (Hao 1991: 517)

1965

November 10, "On the New Historical Play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*" by Yao Wenyuan is published in the Shanghai *Wunhui bao*. On the same day Mao dismisses Yang Shangkun as the director of the party center's General Office, replaced by Major General Wang Dongxing, the director of the Central Bureau of Guards. (Macfarquhar et al. 2006: 17 – 20.)

1966

May 4 to 26, Politburo expanded/enlarged session held in Beijing, presided by Liu Shaoqi to purge Peng, Luo, Lu, and Yang and to launch the CR. (Macfarquhar et al. 2006: 36 – 39)

May 16, The May 16 Notification (declassified on May 17, 1967) passed at the expanded session. (Macfarquhar et al. 2006: 40)

May 21 to July 25, The CCP CC North China Bureau holds the Qianmen hotel meeting to study the May 16 Notification and expose and criticize Ulanhu's "errors" (Tumen et al. 1995: 319).

August 4, Inner Mongolia Party Committee Cultural Revolution Small Group is set up, Gao Jinming as its leader and Quan Xingyuan as his deputy (Tumen 1995: 319).

August 8, Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution ("Sixteen points") is approved by the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee and published in the *People's Daily* the next day (Schoenhals 1996: 33). The same day, the CCP Central Committee approves dismissal of Ulanhu's office as the First Secretary of the IMAR Party Committee (Tumen et al. 1995: 319).

November 2, The CCP Central Committee approves the dismissal of Ulanhu as the commander and political commissar of the IM Military Region and as the president of the Inner Mongolia University (Tumen 1995: 320).

1967

February 5, "The first shot of the Inner Mongolian Cultural Revolution". Han Tong, a Teacher's College student, is shot by Liu Qing, a PLA officer, outside the IM Military Region south gate in Hohhot compelling the CCP CC to take action to regain control of the escalating conflict. (Qi Zhi 175 – 181.)

February 10 – April 13, CCP CC representatives led by Premier Zhou Enlai meet with the representatives of IMAR Part Committee, Inner Mongolia Military District, Third Headquarters, and *Hongweijun* in Beijing to discuss the situation in the IMAR (Tumen et al. 195: 320).

April 13, *The CCP CC decision on handling the Inner Mongolia problem* (also known as the "Eight red points" or the "13 April decision") is issued labeling the IMAR CC secretaries Wang Duo and Wang Yilun capitalist roaders and Ulanhu's agents, expresses support to the rebellious mass organizations and accuses the Military District for supporting the wrong line (conservatives) (Tumen 1995: 321; Qi Zhi 2010: 181).

April 16, The Central Military Affairs Committee appoints the Beijing Military District deputy commander Teng Haiqing acting commander of the IM Military District and the head of the Inner Mongolia Revolutionary Committee Preparatory Small Group. (Tumen & Zhu 1995: 321).

May 26, The CCP Center downgrades the Inner Mongolia military region to a military district subordinate to the Beijing MR (Qi Zhi 2010: 208 - 209).

June 18, The Preparatory Small Group of the Inner Mongolia Revolutionary Committee is set up, Teng Haiqing as its leader, Wu Tao as his deputy, and 17 members including Gao Jinming, Quan Xingyuan, Gao Shuhua etc. (Tumen & Zhu 1995: 321).

August 29, *Inner Mongolia Daily* publishes the editorial "Strike down Ulanhu" (打倒乌兰夫!), launching the AR-wide public denunciations of Ulanhu (Tumen & Zhu 1995: 322).

October 3, Ulanbagan presents Teng Haiqing's office with *Concise Report on Ulanhu's Black Gang's Crime of Covering Up for a Great Treasonous Clique* bringing up the Neirendang problem for the first time in the IMAR CR (Tumen & Zhu 1995: 54).

November 1, The IMAR Revolutionary Committee is set up, Teng Haiqing as its leader, and Wu Tao, Gao Jingming, Huo Daoyu as deputies. A total of 19 standing committee members and 85 committee members. (Tumen & Zhu 1995: 322, MacFarquhar & Schoenhals 2006: 533).

1968

February 13, The Core Small Group of the IMAR Revolutionary Committee is established, Teng Haiqing as its leader, Wu Tao and Gao Jinming as deputies, becoming the de facto highest leading organ in the IMAR (Qi Zhi 2010: 215).

July, The third expanded meeting of the IMRC and the "Report on opinions on handling the 'Neirendang'" (passed on 20 July) marks the official start of the all-campaign to "dig up" the New Neirendang (Qi Zhi 2010: 312).

1969

April 4 – 24, The 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress, where Mao declared the problem of Inner Mongolia CR having been the "excessive zeal of some Revolutionary Committees in 'cleansing the class ranks'" (quote by Schoenhals in Woody 1993: Editor's Introduction).

July 5, The CCP CC approves the dismemberment of the IMAR. Most of the territory of the IMAR is incorporated into the neighboring provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning, Gansu, and Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region.

December 19, The "Decision on placing Inner Mongolia under total military control" by the CCP CC places the remaining part of Inner Mongolia under the Beijing military region led by a command post established in Hohhot (Tumen & Zhu 1995: 330).

1971

May, The total<sup>396</sup> military control is declared ended and the withdrawal of troops is completed the second half of the following year (Qi Zhi 2010: 440) .

1973

August 24, Ulanhu is elected CC member at the 10<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the CCP and is made the CC United Front Department Chief after the congress (Tumen 1995: 332).

1979

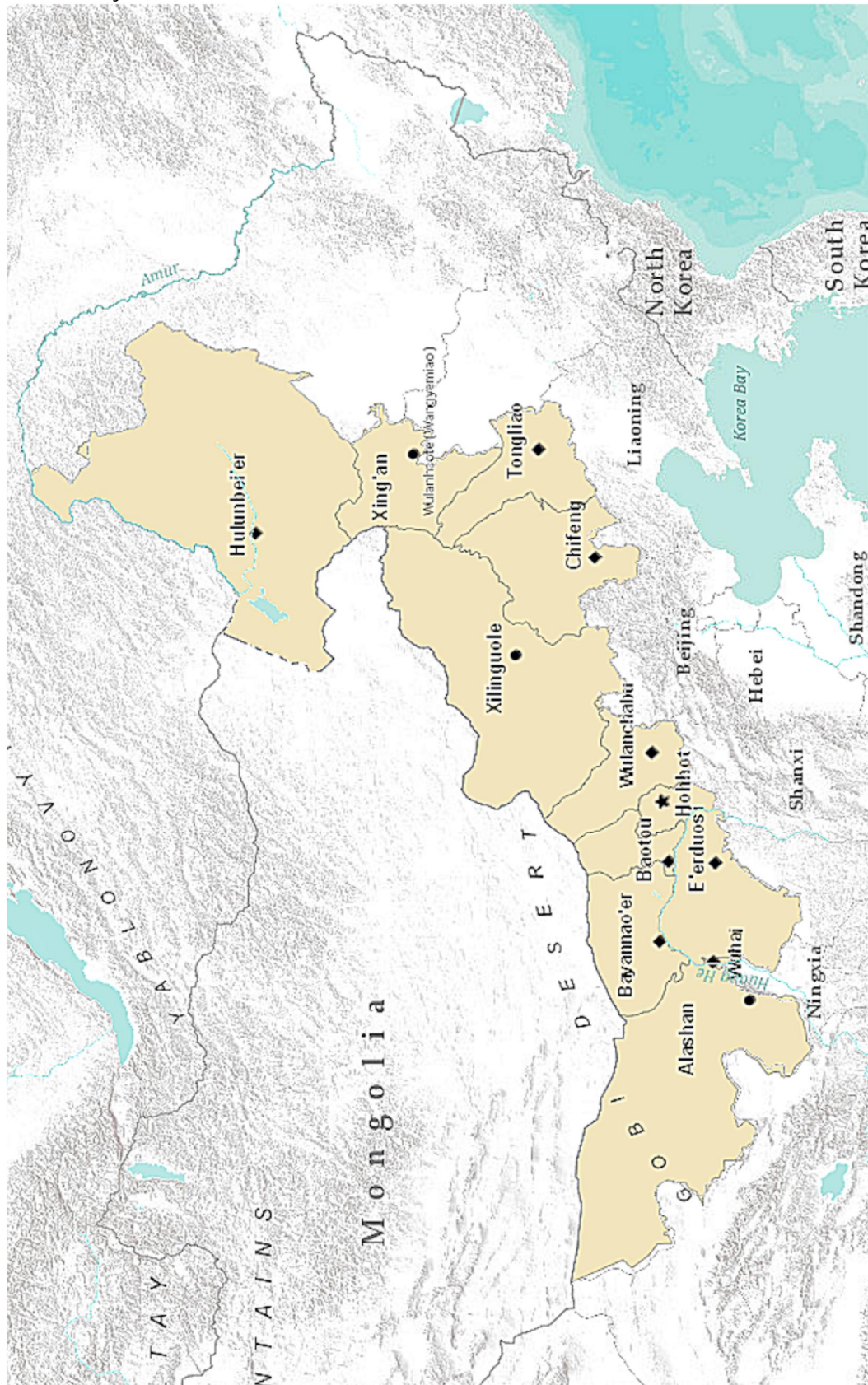
May 30, The CCP CC and the State Council decide on returning the IMAR its pre-CR borders (Tumen 1995: 334).

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<sup>396</sup> Qi Zhi specifies that the "total" military control (全面军官) was the second time the IMAR was placed under military control. The first "key point" military control (重点军官) took place in April 1967 when military officers were sent to Hohhot to lead the IMAR CR with Teng Haiqing, the deputy commander of the Beijing Military District, as the highest authority (Qi Zhi 2010: 440; Tumen & Zhu 1995:321).

### 9.3 Map 1: IMAR

Present Day IMAR Administrative Divisions and Locations of Administrative Centres



(Map created with ArcGIS Online: <https://www.arcgis.com/home/index.html>)



### 9.3 Map 2: Inner Mongolia , 1928–1932, 1945–1949



(Source: Bulag 2010. Map 2)

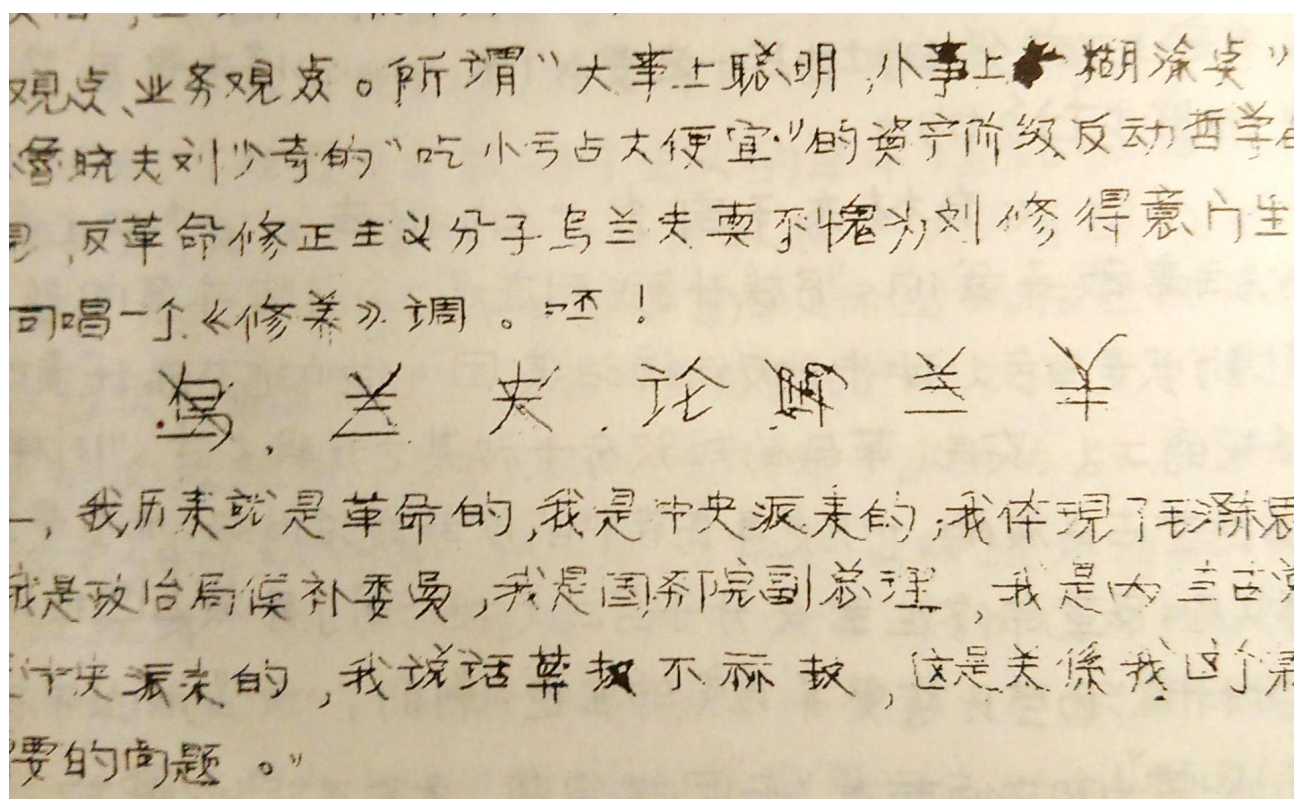


#### 9.4 Picture 1: Strike Down Ulanhu



Picture 1: "Strike Down Ulanhu – Selected Poisonous Weeds". A part of the cover page of a compilation of Ulanhu's "poisonous weeds" by the Inner Mongolia United Front System Criticize and Struggle Ulanhu Liaison Station (*Neimenggu tongzhan xitong pidou Wulanfu lianluozhan*), September 1967. (Yang 2012: 490).

## 9.5. Picture 2: Ulanhu on Ulanhu



Picture 2: "Ulanhu on Ulanhu". A subtitle in the *Compilation of Ulanhu's Reactionary Views* (Yang 2012 (10): 820).

## 9.6 Qianmen Hotel Report

This translation of the Qianmen Hotel Report is based on the copy provided in Qi Zhi (2010: 154 – 164).

Chairman, the Centre:

In May, at the work conference convened by the North China Bureau, the 146 comrades from the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (including banner and county party secretaries), following the Center's and Chairman Mao's instructions on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, with the great red flag of Mao Zedong thought raised high exposed and denounced the anti-Party, anti-socialist, and anti-Mao-Zedong-thinking errors of Ulanhu.

The exposing and denouncing of Ulanhu's errors lasted a total of 43 days, from 7 June until 20 July. In addition to the small group meetings, eight conferences of the Regional Party Committee Standing Committee were held; six Standing Committee expanded conferences with the league and municipal Party secretaries, sixteen plenary sessions, and four self-criticisms [jiantao jiaodai] made by Ulanhu (once in both the Standing Committee and the expanded Standing Committee sessions, twice in the plenary sessions).

During this period, the offices and institutes of higher learning directly under the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region launched the Cultural Revolution movement and set off the high tide of *da ming, da fang, dazibao, and da bianlun*<sup>397</sup>, collectively exposing the errors of Ulanhu and his gang.

Based on the multitude of facts that have been exposed, the error of Ulanhu is that of anti-Party, anti-socialism, anti-Mao-Zedong-thinking. The splittist revisionist error that destroys the national unity and strives to set up an independent kingdom. In essence, [Ulanhu is] the biggest power holder within the Inner Mongolian Party organization taking the capitalist road. Exposing and denouncing Ulanhu's errors, has been an excavation of a time-bomb hid within the Party, it has been a magnificent victory of Mao Zedong thinking.

The the main cases of Ulanhu's errors are as follows:

### 1. Opposing Mao Zedong thinking, hoisting another flag, setting up a system of his own

Ulanhu wantonly distorts and twists Mao Zedong thought. On August 8, 1963, in his "Statement in support of the righteous struggle of American blacks against the racial discrimination of American imperialism" Mao Zedong says: "Racial struggle, in the final analysis, is a problem of class struggle." Ulanhu opposes this brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao. He has called secretaries to search in the works of Marx, Engles, Lenin, and Stalin whether these words of Chairman Mao are well-grounded. In December 1965, in the forum to prepare the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of Inner Mongolia he again stated: "The nationality question is the people's question"; "Mao Zedong thought is minzu tuanjie"; "The basic concept of Chairman Mao regarding the nationality question is to consolidate national unity, to strengthen minzu tuanjie..."; "I think as long as these two points are grasped, the core of the nationality question is in our grip". He even declared, that "the nationality question is the true essence of class struggle". "If we depart from the concrete reality of the nationality question, prattle about class struggle is mere empty rhetoric."

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<sup>397</sup> joku pikku selivitys tarvittaneen

In March 1958, hearing Ulanhu's report at the Chengde conference, Chairman Mao gave major instructions on the nationality question: "The Mongol and Han nationalities must work closely together and believe in Marxism. ...It doesn't necessarily have to be people of the respective provinces who are in power, no matter where they are from whether from the north or from the south, this or that nationality, the only question is whether that person has communism and how much communism he has. This must be made clear to the minority nationalities "; "Are they eating the rice of nationalism, or the rice of communism. Are they eating the rice of localism, or the rice of communism? First of all, they need to eat the rice communism. Local is needed, but not localism." However, Ulanhu not only didn't pass on these instructions, but overtly put on a rival show. He emphasized "the gradual realization of minoritization [minzuhua] of the leading organs of the Party is a fundamental task." Not only did he say but actually has done it.

Give prominence to politics, means giving prominence to Mao Zedong thought, giving prominence to class struggle. Instead, Ulanhu has opposed giving prominence to politics and Mao Zedong thought with the nationality question. February 1966, at the Tumed banner Four Cleanups reorganization and training conference and some other meetings repeatedly [Ulanhu] emphasized that "the nationality question is the major means of giving prominence to politics".

Comrade Mao Zedong is the greatest contemporary Marxist-Leninist. Mao Zedong thought is a universally applicable truth and the guiding principle of all work in the whole of our Party and country. But Ulanhu has attacked the works of comrade Mao as "dogmatist". According to him: "Studying the selected works of Mao starts from reality, must have a definite target. ...not starting from reality, not solving the issues to be addressed, how is this not dogmatism?" "The study of Mao Zedong thought must be combined with the Inner Mongolian reality." "The core of studying Mao Zedong thought is to establish a Mao Zedong thought nationality view [minzuguan]." April 1966. In the "Decision on further developing the movement of (great) study the works of Chairman Mao" written based on his [Ulanhu's] ideas on the Autonomous Region and Party committees, it is said that: "Only by really understanding the Inner Mongolian reality and solving the problem of starting from reality, can our work have new accomplishments and step on our own path." In reality, he is trying to establish his own "Ulanhu thought" in Inner Mongolia and make the cadres study his views on the nationality question. (He has a five-book collection of speeches, mimeograph [youyinben] copies, first distributed to a small number of people, and then recalled.) On March 3, 1966, the Autonomous Region Party Committee issued the "Main points of work for the first half of 1966" that demands "combining [theory] with the reality of the Autonomous Region". While "studying the views on the nationality problem and the Party's nationality policy", the "major speeches of comrade Ulanhu on the nationality question and related writings" must be studied.

In January 1965, at the Third expanded plenum of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Second Party Committee [Ulanhu] brought up the idea of "consolidating and developing the three foundations of minzu tuanjie and national unity: politics, the economy, and culture. That means developing the Party's organization and the majority members and the Mongols of the Poor and Lower Middle Peasants Association [pinxie], build the political foundation for class ranks; Implementing the principle of combining agriculture and pastoralism, Mongols can herd cattle, the Han can also herd cattle, the Han can farm land, Mongols can also farm land, [that's the] economic foundation of agriculture and pastoralism supporting each other; Practicing the cultural foundations of using two languages and writing systems in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. He says: "When there's the political foundation, the economic foundation, and the common language, ... as a result a common heart/state of mind is reflected. ... And when there is a common state of mind, minzu tuanjie has a reliable foundation in culture." Furthermore, he sees them as the three foundations for "the merge of nationalities" in "transition from socialism to communism".

Ulanhu's "three foundations" stands on the side of bourgeois nationalism. It willfully misinterprets, distorts, and belittles Mao Zedong thought. It is not at all socialist or communist, it doesn't talk about classes, class struggle or proletarian dictatorship. It's revisionist from head to tail.

## 2. Opposing class struggle, opposing the socialist revolution

The basis of Ulanhu's opposition to Mao Zedong thought is the denial and nullification of class struggle. He has advanced the revisionist road of "three peacefuls and one replacement" [三和一代] with ideas of peaceful transition in pastoral regions, peaceful coexistence with nationality and religious upper strata, peaceful competition with revisionist Mongolia [the MPR], and replacing class struggle with the nationality question.

He has replaced the Four Cleanups and class struggle with the nationality question. He has denied the most important struggle between socialism and capitalism, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and magnified the nationality conflicts into a primary conflict arguing that the current major threat in Inner Mongolia is Han chauvinism. Moreover, he has used this as an excuse for large-scale action against Han chauvinism. He has also said: "From start to finish, the Four Cleanups must resolutely tackle the nationality problem"; "To take the lift off the struggle between two roads also means taking the lift off the nationality question." He has arrogantly added an additional point to the six points to successfully execute the Four Cleanups put forward by Mao Zedong: "The nationality problem is yet to be solved." And added: "If this point is not accomplished, even finishing all the other six merely means finishing a half of the Four Cleanups". He has taken made his native Tumed banner into a stronghold from where he has summarized what is known as the five manifestations of Han chauvinism, and has been prominently pushing his anti-Han chauvinism. In December last year [1965] in the report-back meeting of the Tumed banner Four Cleanups publicly stated that "I've been fighting Han chauvinism for decades. Being 60 years old this year, I have another 20 years of fight in me and won't stop until I've fought them down." He even attacked some Mongol cadres saying: "Even Mongol cadres have committed Han chauvinism, not local nationalism"; "Mongol cadres committing Han chauvinism is even more dangerous than Han cadres [committing Han chauvinism]." By this, he has been invoking nationality sentiment, trying to turn the Tumed banner Four Cleanups movement into an anti-Han chauvinist movement. Some revolutionary leftist Mongol cadres have been isolated, suffered attacks, and treated as "Han running dogs and Mongol traitors". This way Ulanhu has changed the nature and focus of the Four Cleanups movement: Not a conflict of socialism and capitalism, but a conflict of nationality nature; Not taking class struggle and struggle between two roads as a guiding principle, but focusing on the fight against his so called Han chauvinism. The summary of these "experiences" he has transmitted down in the name of the Autonomous Region Party committee and urged them [the other banners and counties] to follow suit.

Ulanhu opposes the execution of socialist revolution in pastoral regions advocating "peaceful transition". He insists that in pastoral regions the reform must proceed with firms steps, with lenient treatment, and take a long time, implementing policy of "firm, lenient, and slow" [wen kuan chang]<sup>398</sup>, and that this "principle of peaceful transformation" has to be thoroughly implemented from up to down and from beginning to end in the pastoral regions' socialist transformation. He thinks that revolution will destroy production, until there's no livestock left, suggesting that "revolution until there's no livestock left will make the herdsmen change their minds".<sup>399</sup> He has also been against the suppression of revolts in minority regions. In September 1955 when the Central Committee discussed the issue of suppressing revolts in XX in Sichuan,

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<sup>398</sup> The original text: 步子要穩，處理要寬，時間要長的“穩、寬、長”的政策

<sup>399</sup> Etsi koko pätäk! Oletuksena on, että Ulanhu sanoo, että vallankumous siihen pisteeseen, että kaikki eläimet tapettu, saa paimentolaiset menettämään uskonsa vallankumoukseen/vaihtamaan leiriä.

he said: "Going to battle against the minorities is an bad move." The Central Committee did not share his view. In June 1956 during a meeting he persevered with his standpoint, stating that "I told in the meeting, that going to battle is a bad move but some attending comrades did not agree." And he also said: "If we have made an error, we should admit it, only so can the public be calmed."

Ulanhu has opposed class labeling in pastoral regions and adheres to the democratic revolution-era policy of no (property) distribution, no (class) struggle, no class labeling in pastoral regions. In a meeting in December 1965 argued that this policy "aroused the enthusiasm of herd lords to develop production. Whether they're herd lords or herdsmen, rich or poor, they all increased livestock production". "Today its still like this, it's a guiding principle in pastoral regions." Therefore he thinks that "as long as the production is growing, we're perfectly fine without class labeling." Due to his repeated obstruction, the majority of the Inner Mongolian pastoral economy still lacks class labeling and the proletarian dictatorship is not strong at all.

Ulanhu has been beautifying the nationality upper strata, herd lords, and religious upper strata, advocating "peaceful coexistence" with them. In April 1962, in the National Nationalities Work Conference he stated: "At the moment a lot of our cadres are princes and princesses/.../ an they have been very successful in their work. Therefore, members of each nationality, each social stratum, the religious upper stratum and all the people of every stratum who are patriotic and support the nationality autonomy, we rallied them all and ideologically transformed them and at the same time let them be useful to the best of their abilities." He also said: "Protecting the Autonomous Region is protecting the Mongol people and is also protects the religious belief." He's been all over telling about this herd lord in Hu meng [Hulunbuir] who grew his herd to twenty thousand heads and now doesn't take the train going to Ha'erbin but flies on a plane. But he never talks about how the herd lords' money have come from exploitation. During the Four Cleanups, he even advocated "negotiation with the minority leaders", and "listening attentively what the minority leaders have to say, by rallying the minority leaders, the masses will come along too."

Ulanhu has not targeted political struggle against revisionist Mongolia, but advocates "peaceful competition". His so called anti-revisionism doesn't stand for engaging in head-to-head struggle in politics, but for winning the head count of cattle; it's not about fighting revisionism in pastoral regions with political education, but emphasizing material incentives. Therefore, in pastoral regions, especially in border regions, many of the masses have weak notion of motherland and are unable to loathe the revisionist Mongolia.

Ulanhu is still a typical economic nationalist [*jingji zhuyizhe*]<sup>400</sup> and pragmatist [*shiyong zhuyizhe*]. He argues: "Among the thousands of causes, increasing cattle is the number one cause"; "[Developing] Production is a matter of life and death, the difference between a true and a bogus revolution". Therefore, he has replaced class struggle with production, placing the class struggle at odds with struggle in production. Last year the Middle-rear joint banner of Bayannaor league <sup>401</sup> was hit by a windstorm and the livestock suffered losses. This year on 8 January, Ulanhu sent a telegram criticizing the Four Cleanups movement being the main reason to cause livestock losses under the attack of the windstorm, arbitrarily ordering a halt in the Four Cleanups. In this year's March, the IMAR Party Committee published "The main points of work for the first half

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<sup>400</sup> Baidu defines the *jingji zhuyi* as an opportunist ideology that is characterized by the short-sighted seek profit. It sees the proletarian movement as a means of economic growth and opposes the struggle to overthrow the capitalist class?

<sup>401</sup> 巴盟中后旗, presumably meaning the Wulate (Urad) middle-rear joint banner (乌拉特中后联合旗) in Bayannaor league. For information on the changes in administrative divisions of the Bayannaor league (nowadays Bayannao'er shi) on the official site of the Bayannaor shi, see: <http://www.bynr.gov.cn/sqgk/lsg/>.



of 1966", that went as far as to/that actually stated, that "agricultural and pastoral production that centers in fighting droughts and natural calamities is presently the central task of all the Party and the people, a common mission for all trades and professions, and must be tackled with all one's strength. Not a word was said of class struggle or anti-revisionist struggle among the tasks.

When it comes to class struggle, the idea of "socialist nationality/nationalities", "minoritization of offices", and suppressing revolts in minority regions, Ulanhu shows no difference with Li Weiha's<sup>402</sup> views. They mutually support and make use of each other, openly oppose the Party and the Party Center.

### 3. Servilely bowing to revisionism

Internally Ulanhu yields to the pressure from princes, the nobility, and the herd lords, externally he yields to the pressure from the revisionist.

Regarding the reform of the Mongolian script Ulanhu insisted the slavization [the use of Cyrillic script] of the writing, completely adopting the Outer Mongolian script, stating: "Unifying the language and script with Outer Mongolia is for the purpose of influencing them". He promoted the slavization of Mongolian writing in the whole of Inner Mongolia starting from 1955, not stopping until Premier Zhou proposed latinization [the use of Latin alphabet] in Qingdao in 1957, but to this day has yet to implement the latinization.

In external relations Ulanhu is servile. In July 1961 he led the Party and government delegation of China to take part in the celebration of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of the Mongolian People's Party and the 14<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Mongolian party. During the speech of the representative of the Yugoslavian Tito, Ulanhu took the initiative to stand up two times (there was no applause), thus isolating the Albanian representative. When the Mongolian revisionists broadcasted and published the congratulatory greetings of our party and the speech of the head of the delegation, the part "our friends are spread all over the world" was altered to "there are our friends in the world". After the members of the delegation became aware of this, it was reported to him [Ulanhu] twice, but he still ignored it. The revisionist Mongols were absolutely unreasonable when our delegation going to visit the Ulaanbaatar department store, intentionally giving us the cold shoulder. Before the arrival of our delegation, the Mongols called all the employees to go welcome their Polish guests and the store door was tightly closed. But he willingly endured this humiliation and persisted in visiting this "self-service store". When Zedengba'er<sup>403</sup> was hit by a car and was hospitalized, Ulanhu suggested visiting him. The Mongol revisionists agreed on Ulanhu and Wang Weizhou<sup>404</sup> visiting but Zedengba'er's wife (from the Soviet Union) only allowed Ulanhu alone to enter the sickroom. Wang Weizhou left in anger, and not only did he [Ulanhu] he not act in concert, but was all smiles instead, indifferent to what had happened, entered alone to visit Zedengba'er. Afterwards, before returning to China, when

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<sup>402</sup> Li Weiha (李维汉, 1896-1984). Spent time in France on a work-study program from 1919 to 1922 and along with Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping was a member of the activist group that established the Chinese Youth Communist Party in Europe (旅欧中国少年共产党). An important figure of the Long March and the first head of the Central Committee United Front Work department (中共中央统一战线工作部). Criticized for his views on United Front work in the early 1960s, stripped off his post as the head of the department in 1964 and imprisoned for over eight years from 1966. (Dillon 2004: 19 – 20.)

<sup>403</sup> Yumjaagiin Tsendenbal (1916-1991), Prime Minister and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Party at the time ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yumjaagiin\\_Tsendenbal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yumjaagiin_Tsendenbal), 22.1.2018).

<sup>404</sup> Most likely Wang Weizhou (王维舟, 1887-1970), a PLA senior commander, member of the standing committee of the Central Commission for Inspection (?), Nowadays the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection (jilv ei kuulunut ilmeisesti tuolloin nimeen, siksi tuo käännös muoto, tsekkaa vielä).

Wang Weizhou expressed his dissatisfaction with this unreasonable conduct to the Mongolian person in charge, he was also present but expressed no concern whatsoever.

Since last year, just when we have been in head-on confrontation with revisionism, Zedengba'er has been fiercely attacking China and provoking discord between China and Mongolia, Ulanhu has taken down the flag of anti-revisionism and forcefully fought Han chauvinism in the IMAR. This fully meets the needs of foreign revisionists.

4. With the 1935 "declaration" as his program, engaging in national splittist activities, trying to establish a kingdom of his own

Ulanhu cannot forget the 1935 "Declaration/Manifesto of the Chinese Soviet Central Government to the People of Inner Mongolia. Since the latter half of last year, he has been carrying the flag of the Declaration engaging in national splittist activities.

The 1935 Declaration promoted: "Preserving the glory of the Ghenghis Khan era, avoiding the extinction of the nationality/ethnic group [the Mongols], stepping on the road of national/ethnic rejuvenation". It ruled: "The whole area of the original six Mongolian leagues, 24 *bu*<sup>405</sup>, and 49 banners, the two Tumed bu's in Chaha'er, and the three special administrative banners of Ningxia, . . . are considered territory of the Inner Mongolian people". "Only the Inner Mongolian people themselves have the right to solve all of their internal problems, no-one has the right to use violence to interfere with the habits and customs, religion and ethics, or any other rights of the Inner Mongolian people. At the same time, the Inner Mongolian people can organize themselves as they wish, have the right to organize their lives and decide for their own government. They have the right to unite with other peoples to form a federation, and also the right become a completely independent entity. . . ."

This Declaration, then wrongly issued in Chairman Mao's name by dogmatists within the party is just what Ulanhu's present national splittism needs. After the liberation, based on the territory drawn in the declaration, he demanded "repayment" [of lost territory] from the Center, seized territory, refusing to give up an inch of land to the adjoining provinces and regions. January this year, he printed the Declaration to the whole region [the IMAR], demanding the lower levels to use it to "investigate the problems in nationality work within our region", and further demanded all the region's cadre to study [the Declaration] vigorously.

Ulanhu's excuse to distribute the 1935 Declaration is fighting Han chauvinism. In reality, he is using autonomy as a pretext for trying to establish a kingdom of his own. In today's Inner Mongolia Han chauvinism is not the principal threat. The principal threat is local nationalism. Since the founding of the nation [the PRC], local nationalism has never been seriously opposed in the IMAR. Therefore, [the problem of] the local nationalism is rather serious. The activities of the splittists are rather aggressive and cases of treason surface time and again (between 1960 and June 1966, total of 160 cases and 938 people, of which 68 cases and 624 people were accomplished [*yisul*] offences. He has hanged back on handling some major cases of national splittism and even turned a blind eye to them thus aggravating the problem. Even more serious is that during this work conference of the North China Bureau, the Chifeng Military Branch Region chief of staff Yun Chenglie (a distant nephew of Ulanhu), suddenly came to Beijing from Huhehaote to engage in underground activities, claiming he was entrusted by Yun Shiyong (deputy head of the AR public security department) and others to pass on the message that "all the people from Tumed banner need to hold out, and make Ulanhu hold out as well". He also said "'revolution' is continual, even going up the mountains to wage guerilla warfare must have 'revolution'"

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<sup>405</sup> A Qing-dynasty unit between league (meng) and banner (qi).



The facts are crystal clear. The main root of Inner Mongolian local national splittism is Ulanhu himself. With the 1935 Declaration as his programme and fighting Han chauvinism as his pretext, he has engaged in anti-Party and anti-socialist national splittist activities, trying to establish a kingdom of his own.

The national splittist activities and kingdom ambitions are no coincidence. He has a strong "desire to be a leader". He has disguised himself as the "leader" of the Mongol nationality, bragging about "having always been correct", and solemnly claiming to be the Party's "expert" and "authority" on nationality problems. He raises himself above the organization, practicing "patriarchal/paternalistic" leadership, having no conception of democratic centralism and no self-criticism whatsoever. He only listens to praises and is deaf to even the slightest critique, trying to build up his personal prestige by all means possible. After the founding of the IMAR, for a considerable time, the shouts of "long live chairman Ulanhu" were heard and large amounts of Ulanhu's portraits were distributed to pastoral areas. The portraits of Ulanhu were hung on a level with the portrait of Chairman Mao, and even today in some places they still hang his portrait. Hao Fan [浩帆] (Ulanhu's trusted follower), the deputy secretary-general of the AR Party Committee, in the presence of the cadres at the office openly said: "In the Center one listens to Chairman Mao, in Inner Mongolia one listens to Ulanhu", "the whole country studies Mao Zedong thought, Inner Mongolia is to study Ulanhu thought", and "the documents of the Party Committee are to reflect Ulanhu thought". He Yue [何躍] (Ulanhu's trusted follower), officer at the Party Committee office for investigation and research, said in his presence, that: "Comrade Ulanhu is the leader of the people of all nationalities in Inner Mongolia". Ulanhu revels in all this [praise], and never makes an effort to stop it.

The directives from the Center, Chairman Mao, The Central Military Commission, and the North China Bureau that he does not agree with, Ulanhu rejects or delays their implementation. In addition to the aforementioned refusal to transmit Chairman Mao's directive from the Chengdu meeting and not implementing Premier Zhou's directive on the Latinization/Romanization of the Mongolian script, when comrade Lin Biao instructed to pass the army horse farms previously delegated to lower levels on to the General Logistics Department, Ulanhu insisted on keeping the Huhe horse farm. He also categorically opposed the Center's and the North China Bureau's [plans on] land reclamation of Inner Mongolian land for cultivation. He has left the Center and the North China Bureau under tight [information] blockade. His many speeches and reports that cannot bear the light of the day were left undelivered to the Center and the North China Bureau; even some documents the North China Bureau requested, he would not submit.

#### 5. Placing trusted followers to key positions and seizing authority

In order to actively proceed with his national splittist and revisionist political conspiracies, for over a year he has intentionally been practicing factionalist cadre policy.

His standard for assigning cadres is based on whether they are able to implement his revisionist line, whether they actively oppose Han chauvinism, and promote national splittism. Moreover, his unprincipled favoring of the Mongols, is actually favoring the rightists among the Mongol cadres. The Mongol cadres he further divides to East Mongols and West Mongols; Tumed Mongols and non-Tumed Mongols; students of the Yan'an Institute for Nationalities and the ones not from the Yan'an Institute for Nationalities – his relatives and trusted followers have the better posts. Therefore, anyone who praises Ulanhu and opposes Han chauvinism is placed in an important position or promoted; anyone who persists with the Party's principles, who does not cater to his [Ulanhu] taste, is rejected, attacked or even framed-up.

This way Ulanhu has recruited a group of revisionists, national splittists, ultra-individualists, and people with severely problematic political backgrounds (including Han cadres), creating a rightist force and scheming with a handful of trusted followers as his core group. Especially some

important personnel assignments have been secretly prepared by them in advance. Ulanhu himself has confessed: "This is a 'small secretariat' outside the secretariat.

Since the latter half of last year, Ulanhu has been impatiently placing his trusted followers in key position, [thus] seizing the authority over important departments.

1) Using the scheme of setting up a "substitute Standing Committee", seized authority over the AR Party Committee Standing Committee.

In January, Ulanhu took advantage of many of the AR Party Committee Standing Committee and Secretariat members engaging in grassroots work or suffering from illnesses, ignored the opposition by comrades Wang Duo and Gao Jinming from the Secretariat and set up a 13-member "substitute Standing Committee" consisting predominantly of his trusted followers. Nine of the members were Mongols cadres, six of them from Tumed banner. This [substitute Standing Committee] was a means to promote his revisionist line. The "substitute Standing Committee" replaced the Standing Committee, forcefully promoting Ulanhu's national splittist line carried out by his trusted followers.

2) Placing a number of trusted followers in important positions, took control of key departments within the Party and the government.

Under the pretexts of trimming organizations, setting up the "five committees" [?], and strengthening authority, he placed trusted followers in key positions and seized authority in the General Office, Organization Department, and the Investigation and Research Office of the Party Committee, and the Culture, Planning, and Agriculture Committees of the People's Committee, the Public Security Department etc. key departments.

3) Staged a revisionist coup within the Hohhot Municipal Party Committee

Ulanhu used the revisionist anti-Han chauvinism spearhead figure Li Gui [李贵] (Han nationality, first secretary of the Hohhot Party Committee), together with a secretary of the Hohhot Party Committee Secretariat Chen Bingyu [陈炳宇], to exaggerate the faults and errors of the second secretary of the Municipal Party Committee Zhao Rulin [赵汝霖] and accused him of being "anti-Ulanhu" and "not implementing the Party's nationality policy" etc, labeled him "anti-Party factionalist" and got rid of him. After Li Gui and a handful of revisionists gained "victory", carried away by complacency, only last autumn, Li Gui made reports in Hohhot eight consecutive times and also went to report twice in Baotou municipal cadre meetings. In the reports he advocated revisionism and anti-Han chauvinism in loud voice; praised Ulanhu for being brilliant and right, opposed Mao Zedong thought; with a stroke of a brush he wrote off the Hohhot Party Committee's ten years' achievements. The whole municipality carried the [movement] "take off the lids, dig the roots, and change the guard"<sup>406</sup>, staged a revisionist coup. Ulanhu praised Li Gui's coup highly, speaking of it as the "founding of a Marxist-Leninist leadership group".

4) Using the Hohhot Municipal Party Committee as a model, has actively been staging revisionist coups in other leagues and municipalities.

In December 1965, in the name of the AR Party Committee chaired by Ulanhu, the Hohhot Party Committee approved for distribution a description of a coup called "Report on some of the problems regarding nationality work". It is a typical example of a revisionist coup d'état program. The document starts by praising him [Ulanhu] for being always right that he "led the people of the whole [Autonomous] region to liberation, . . . is held in esteem and supported by people of all nationalities in the region". It then argues, that "these bourgeois nationalists (editors note: Han chauvinists) are at present glaringly concentrating their attack on some of the old Inner

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<sup>406</sup> 揭盖子, 挖根子, 换班子

Mongolian Mongol leading comrades headed by Ulanhu". "The nationality problem of Inner Mongolia, that is the problem of revolution in Inner Mongolia. Resisting the leading comrades of Inner Mongolia led by Ulanhu is actually resisting the leadership of the Party and the Party's nationality policy, it is resisting the Inner Mongolia nationalities' socialist road". "It is the present trend within the AR Party regarding the nationality problem", "Here the present class struggle and struggle of two roads within the AR forcefully manifests itself on the nationality problem." This document showed the green light to the evil activities of national splittists and revisionists in many places. They take this document and go bustling all around, working hard preparing to stage a counterrevolutionary conspiracy coup. First they extend their activities into the local Party and government organs, then reaching to the military.

5) Launched a concentrated attack on the Han leading cadres within the regional Party Committee to remove obstacles from advancing national splittism.

On April 1, this year, in the name of giving prominence to politics at the meeting of the "substitute Standing Committee" Ulanhu launched a "small airing of views" [小鸣放]. He took initiative to attack the AR Party Committee secretaries Wang Duo, Quan Xingyuan, Gao Jinming (Manchu nationality) and other comrades by name. Their contributions he kept to himself but made their errors public to others. He said that Wang Duo "wasn't willing to give up a hair" when it came to agriculture. Quan Xingyuan had left industry "without an inch of steel in hand". Gao Jinming was not implementing nationality policy and slandered the AR commerce "dashengkui" [大盛魁] (name for the business of the old society exploiting Mongols). Following this, the "substitute Standing Committee" prepared the files of these comrades according to Ulanhu's intent. Outside the meeting, Yun Liwen, Hao Fan and others were spreading the word about these secretaries and leading cadres of the AR Party Committee opposing Ulanhu, manipulating the general opinion [against them].

Late April, this year, in the name of putting the decisions of the North China Bureau conference, giving prominence to politics and class struggle, Ulanhu convened the AR Party Committee Standing Committee expanded meeting, took matters to his own hands, sent men to his mission to fan the flames, giving prominence to anti-Han chauvinism<sup>407</sup>, attacking Wnagduo, Quan Xingyuan and other comrades, attempting to carry out a "palace coup". At the time the North China Bureau already had its doubts [about Ulanhu] and sent its men to criticize and stop him. Luckily, it was also at that time the Center summoned him [Ulanhu] to Beijing to attend the May Politburo Extended Meeting pre-empting Ulanhu's conspiracy this time. Following this the Great Cultural Revolution was launched and Ulanhu's errors were exposed. His conspiracy fell through.

Ulanhu's errors are no coincidences. He was born to a landlord family, received a bourgeois education. After taking part in the revolution, he was engaged in nationality elite work for long periods and seldom engaged in mass movements and arduous class struggle. Since the liberation, he has been high above the masses, living like a prince divorced from reality. Therefore, despite being a Party member for over forty years, his bourgeois views stand and world view have never changed. He has always shown rightist inclination, far from the "right all along" he boasts himself to be. He is a bourgeois nationalist to the core. The intensifying class struggle and ever advancing socialist revolution home and abroad worried him deep in his soul. Especially since the latter half of last year, he could wait no more but brazenly raised his own flag, openly started to fight the Party, socialism, and Mao Zedong thought, engaging in national splittist activities. Ulanhu is a representative figure of the bourgeoisie within the Party, a conspirator obsessed with ambition. He wants to transform Inner Mongolia and the Inner Monoglian Party organization with his bourgeois nationalism.

The Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region is the frontier of the motherland, the frontline against revisionism, and a strategic key area. The Center trusted Ulanhu assigning him this major duty. But Ulanhu was unworthy of the Center's and Chairman Mao's trust and expectations. Giving priority his own bourgeois ambitions, Ulanhu turned his back on the benefit of the proletarian revolutionary cause, up to the point of breaking the unity of the nation and advancing bourgeois restoration in Inner Mongolia. Ulanhu's errors have already done serious damage and left deep evil trails to the strength of the frontier of the motherland, to the great unity of the nation(alities), and to the socialist revolution and construction of the IMAR.

There were signs of Ulanhu's erroneous thinking already before. The Chairman and the comrades in charge of the Center have talked criticized and tried to bring him around. For the past couple of years, the North China Bureau has started to become aware of his errors, warning and criticizing him not only once. But he has never criticized himself, and before criticism he shows a different face to the outside from what he thinks within. Despite him having begun to recognize some of his serious mistakes after hearing the severe criticisms and struggles by comrades at the meeting this time, he is still unwilling to completely dissociate himself from the errors and has not changed his erroneous stand at all. The attending comrades are furious with Ulanhu and his errors, one by one demanding to deal with the matter strictly and thoroughly eliminate the influence of Ulanhu's errors.

We are confident that more than 95% of the cadres and the masses of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region are revolutionary and have faith in the Party Center and Chairman Mao. Under the brilliant leadership of the Party Center and Chairman Mao, in this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we will surely be able to eliminate the influence caused by Ulanhu's errors. The great red flag of Mao Zedong thought will surely be raised higher than ever in the IMAR, and the IMAR socialist revolution and socialist construction will take a new leap forward.

We ask the Center to examine the report above. If the Center agrees, we suggest it to approve this report for distribution in the local government and army Party organizations, as well as publish it within revolutionary mass organizations.

The North China Bureau of the Communist Party of China Central Committee  
July 27, 1966